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CLASSICAL INDIAN DANCE IN LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

KAPILA VATSYAYAN



SANGHEET NATAK AKADEMI
RABINDRA BHAVAN FEROZESHAH ROAD NEW DELHI

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**TO MY GURUS
WITH PROFOUND GRATITUDE**

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ABBREVIATIONS

AD	Abhinaya Darpaṇa
ASIR	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report
ASR	Archaeological Survey Reports
AV	Atharva Veda
NŚII	Gaekwad Oriental Series Second Edition Nāṭyaśāstra
BR	Bālarāmabharatam (Trivandrum Oriental Series)
HLD	Hastalakṣaṇam Dipikā
HM	Hasta Muktvāli
JISOA	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art
MG	Mirror of Gesture (by Coomaraswami and Duggirala)
NŚS	Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha (Madras Oriental Series)
NŚ	Nāṭyaśāstra
RV	Ṛg Veda
SBR	Śathpatha Brāhmaṇa
SR	Saṅgitaratnākara
TL	Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇam
VD	Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa
YV	Yajur Veda
Fig.	Figure

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

Vowels

अ (a)	आ (ā)	इ (i)	ई (ī)	उ (u)
ऊ (ū)	ऋ (r)	ॠ (ṛ)	ए (e)	ऐ (ai)
ओ (o)	औ (au)			

Consonants

क (k)	ख (kh)	ग (g)	घ (gh)	ङ (ṅ)
च (c)	छ (ch)	ज (j)	झ (jh)	ञ (ñ)
ट (ṭ)	ठ (ṭh)	ड (ḍ)	ढ (ḍh)	ण (ṇ)
त (t)	थ (th)	द (d)	ध (dh)	न (n)
प (p)	फ (ph)	ब (b)	भ (bh)	म (m)
य (y)	र (r)	ल (l)	व (v)	
श (ś)	ष (ṣ)	स (s)	ह (h)	

Anusvara (ṁ)

Visarga (ḥ)

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FOREWORD

With India's attainment of independence and of her rightful place in the brotherhood of nations, the world has begun to look at India with new eyes. One consequence of this sudden upsurge of interest has been a glut of books dealing with various aspects of Indian culture—music, dance, costume, jewellery, art-crafts etc.—generally hastily written and often full of errors and even misinformation.

In this climate of confusion Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan's book on CLASSICAL INDIAN DANCE IN LITERATURE AND THE ARTS comes as a breath of fresh air, clear, incisive and invigorating. The product of years of diligent study of dance texts, careful research and exploration, patient analysis and long practice with the most revered teachers of the art, supported by a single-minded devotion to the cause of an art-form that had suffered a near-total eclipse at the beginning of the century, the book may be said to represent a singularly happy merging of two traditions of learning—even of two cultures as it were: only in this case both humanist. For Dr. Vatsyayan has not only utilised the repositories of tradition or the able guidance of an erudite scholar like the late Dr. Vasudeva Saran Agarwala (under whose direction she worked for her doctorate in Fine Art at the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University); she has also brought to bear an analytical approach to the ancestry of dance movement—so integral a part of the evolution of modern dance abroad.

No student of Indian cultural history can fail to notice one special feature of the Indian situation: it was usual for the Indian author, poet, artist, musician or dancer to dedicate his or her creation to a divinity or to a *ṛṣi* (sage), thus concealing the artist's own identity. The author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* was no exception. It is impossible to identify or date him precisely; it continues to be a plausible theory that the text was compiled much later by a disciple in the tradition, to be preserved in the form in which we know it today. The treatise conforms to the tradition in another important aspect; like all other texts it quotes earlier authority. As, however, none of the material thus referred to is available, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* stands unique in its solitary splendour. While this isolation might have been the result of a natural tendency (particularly when tradition was preserved orally and the strain of memory was consequently always great) to consign older treatises to oblivion in favour of a newer and more comprehensive compendium of the tradition, it undoubtedly enhanced the importance and authority of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* for successive generations.

Though the *Nāṭyaśāstra* continues to have its importance for all scholars of the dance and the theatre arts generally, it was inevitable that regional styles should

develop and that the commentaries should adapt themselves to accommodate and even provide justification for these variations. Some of these commentaries, such as Abhinavagupta's for example, have in course of time themselves attained the status of a source-book of tradition. Thus, frequently, the dance teacher and the serious dancer—while conscientiously following the tradition or a source-book of authority—have in fact been called upon to exercise a meticulous selective judgment: the greatest have met this challenge with conspicuous success, thus enriching the tradition while following it.

Any attempt at reconstructing a history of the classical dance in India, therefore, would rely not only on dance texts and commentaries, down from Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* but of necessity delve deep into what was preserved in the *practising tradition* of preceptors as well as dancers. Furthermore, to correlate material from these two parallel sources into a meaningful pattern, the historian would have to study classical literature for its numerous references to dance and dance practice as well as to its vividly expressive and illuminating use of dance metaphor. Finally, continuous cross reference to sculptural material would be called for not only to establish regional patterns but also to indicate chronological sequences. In other words, a historical study of the art of dance in India would call for a complex inquiry involving several disciplines; it would also call for skills not generally considered necessary equipment for scholarship. It is singularly fortunate that Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan combines these skills with the scholar's rigorous training and the artist's sensitivity and insight. The result is this book: a masterly presentation of the aesthetic as well as the historical aspects of classical Indian dance, rendered with rare authority and fine judgment. That the analysis of certain sculptures in terms of dance movement provides new light for the understanding of classical sculpture also (e.g. the *śālabhañjikās* and flying figures) is matter for further commendation: it is obvious that this gain is not merely incidental but one of the aims pursued and ably fulfilled by the scholar.

I commend this well-documented and superbly illustrated work without reservation to all scholars and lovers of Indian dance.

RAI KRISHNADASA
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PREFACE

The present study is the result of some fifteen or more years of labour in a field which has, perhaps because of its very nature, received inadequate attention in the past. As a practical student of classical Indian dance forms I had found it necessary to examine and understand the theoretical bases on which the tradition of the dance and the traditional techniques had been built. The *gurus* and masters, hereditary repositories of what were unquestionably the authentic traditions and techniques of Indian dancing, could only provide inadequate or unsatisfactory answers to many of the theoretical questions that arose in my mind. This impelled me to conduct my own research into the original texts. The relationship of the arts, I thus observed, and the insights I gained encouraged me to pursue the detailed study of the field which forms the subject of the present work. I consider it my good fortune that I should have been led to the subject by what may appear an indirect route, because without this practical background I would have found it far more difficult to reach the bridge from the theoretical tenets to the vast and varied field of their application to dance practice. It is the discovery of such bridges and the clear demarcation of routes across them that has been my chief purpose in the present study. I may be permitted to express the belief, in all humility, that the purpose has been achieved. I trust that the lines of study indicated here will be extended to other fields which are, as I have attempted to demonstrate, inseparably related.

The size and nature of the field was formidable and I had naturally to restrict myself to what could be spanned by a unified study. Geographically its scope extended from Manipur to Gujarat and from Mohen-jo-dāro through Khajuraho to Kerala. It was not only the archaeological sites scattered over this vast area or the objects recovered from them that had to be surveyed. The different local traditions of the schools of classical dancing preserved in isolated pockets throughout the country had also to be studied; and patient solutions found to intricate problems through personal contact with ageing *gurus* who represented the precious oral tradition of classical Indian dancing and who alone could provide the insight which would illuminate a study of so complex a field.

While the *rasa* theory is common to all Indian arts, a parallel study of the different art forms in relation to this theory has not been undertaken before. Indeed, it may justifiably be said that western scholars and art critics have generally devoted greater attention to the continuous study of the theoretical foundations of artistic practice than has been the case in India. Of course, to a large extent, this has resulted from the very nature of western and Indian artistic theories. In the west, the theoretician as well as the practising artist in every field of art including literature has

been actively concerned with “significant form” and has therefore generally studied several arts together or in relation to one another. In India, however, because of the emphasis placed by the *rasa* theory on the evocation of a mood or the attainment of a ‘state of being’, both the artist and the theoretician have tended to be concerned primarily with technique. This concern with technique has tended inevitably to isolate one art from another because techniques are specific and exclusive.

While the present study has, I believe, provided the groundwork for a complete historical study of classical Indian dancing and the evaluation of its different forms, the limits within which I have worked must here be clearly stated. I have dealt, in some degree of detail, with literary and sculptural material upto the medieval period. It would be logically consistent to continue this study into the beginning of the modern period, and it is my hope and wish that such a study will be undertaken in the near future. But it is obvious that this would require the collaboration not only of a large number of individual workers but also of regional institutions. Since from the medieval period onwards the unity provided by the Sanskrit texts is no longer sustained, the study would have to be extended to material in a number of regional languages. Apart from the difficulty of access to such language material and the problems of transliteration, translation and interpretation which might well prove too large for the capacities of any single individual, it is even possible that the diversity of the material might only blur the outline of the continuity provided by the Sanskrit tradition.

It has been a part of my good fortune, referred to earlier, that in the course of practical training in the different dance disciplines, I have been able to establish contacts with and receive valuable guidance from a number of *gurus* of dancing and *ustāds* or heads of *gharānās* of music, and I have naturally profited by the material thus made available. But obviously, a history of the theoretical foundations of Indian dancing cannot rely on such fortuitous circumstances.

Most of my literary and sculptural source material is known. My purpose was not so much to bring new material to light as to organise and correlate the existing material in a pattern of significance for the historical study of the classical Indian dance. In the field of sculpture particularly it was considered desirable to refer primarily to known examples in order to facilitate the main argument. An endeavour has been made to analyse sculptural representations of dance scenes in terms of dance poses and dance movement and thus to establish the close relationship of the two art forms.

The use of literary material has been more or less analogous. Though I have considered a number of unpublished manuscripts relating to dance in Indian libraries and abroad, I have based my argument in the main on published works. I would have liked to include in my examination some recently published manuscripts, specially Jayasenāpati’s *Nṛtta Ratnāvali* and the *Saṅgitarāja* and some other works published in Orissa, Andhra Pradesh and Assam. It was not possible to do so

because the press copy had already been handed over and the Press was unable to cope with additions during the years that the book awaited publication.

In the field of music greater emphasis has been laid on practice than on literary and other evidence; this was considered necessary to bring out the complete interdependence of music and dancing. A detailed analysis of texts of Music was deliberately left out, on account of the obvious reason, that much valuable work has already been done on both textual and critical interpretation.

It is hoped that this analytical study will give the reader a clear picture of the inter-relationship of the Indian art forms and of their common theoretical basis, and help him to recognise the true character of the Indian dance as the highest artistic integration of the forms and ideals of literary as well as audio-visual arts.

Work of this nature cannot be undertaken without help and guidance from many people and I unhesitatingly acknowledge my indebtedness.

Amongst the *gurus* from whom came my first insights into the great integrating power of the dance, I remember the late Minakshisundaram Pillai and Bharatam Narayanaswami Bhagavatar. To late Guru Amobi Singh, the late Mahabir Singh and Achchan Maharaj, my revered teachers of Manipuri and Kathak dance respectively, I owe my awareness of the vast body of tradition embodied in Indian dance styles, and the intricacy of thought to which they give visual form. To Srimati S. V. Lalitha and Sri Debendra Shankar, I am grateful for the experience of Bharatanatyam and Uday Shankar styles. My training in the principles of movement analysis and dance notation with Dr. Juana de Laban, daughter of Dr. Rudolf von Laban, was not only a stimulating experience but a very fruitful one in my subsequent studies.

Scholars in the field of Indian studies have guided me in the search for solutions to many problems that arise in correlating the academic with the oral traditions of the arts of music and the dance. I recall with gratitude some enlightening discussions on the content of the dance for which Mahamahopādhyāya Paṇḍit Gopinātha Kavirāja kindly gave me the time. I acknowledge also Dr. V. Raghavan's willing help and guidance in addition to the benefit derived from his own studies in the field. Above all I am profoundly indebted to the late Dr. Vasudeva Saran Agarwala, who as my research supervisor for a doctoral thesis I presented on the subject some of the material of which forms the basis of the present work, was not only a meticulous and exacting critic but also an inspiring guide.

To Shri S. H. Vatsyayan I am indebted in many ways and on many planes. The first insights into the relationship of word and movement came through many fruitful discussions. Later, his logical incisive criticism and his unquestioned help and support in all aspects of the work were both a source of encouragement and a challenge.

The Directors of several Museums, and in particular Rai Krishnadasa (Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras), and Dr. Moti Chandra (Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay) have given me many valuable suggestions. Association with them and their work has also helped me to pursue many lines of thought to definitive ends.

Dr. A. Ghosh, Director-General of Archaeology (now retired) and officers of his department have been most helpful in providing photographs and other illustrative material. Other sources of photographs have been separately acknowledged.

Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray and Dr. Vidya Nivas Misra read the manuscript and made many helpful suggestions for which I am grateful.

I thank also the officers of the Sangeet Natak Akademi for their patience in seeing the book through the Press. I am particularly sensible of the compliment implicit in the Akademi's acceptance of the present work as the first in their programme of research publications.

New Delhi,
December 1968.

KAPILA VATSYAYAN

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

The need for a second edition of a research publication, which by its very nature was heavy reading requiring patience has been a matter of some gratification and fulfilment.

It would be natural for the readers to expect a second edition, to also be a revised edition with enlargements, and modifications. The author too would have liked to meet these expectations had it not been for the fact that a truly revised edition would tantamount to the writing of three other books. A mere updating of the material would do the subject no justice.

The state of scholarship in the field twenty years ago was rudimentary and materials though known had not attracted the attention of scholars. Over these years, an increasing number of scholars both Indian and foreign have been engaged in serious, systematic research of the traditional performing arts of India. This has resulted in a sizeable body of primary and secondary textual source material coming to light. Also recent archaeological excavations, particularly those conducted in Nagarjunakonda, and Sonkh, Mathura, have laid bare examples of early Indian sculptures which are exceedingly important from the point of view of a study of movement. Besides these, there has been further work on medieval monuments, particularly those of Udayesvara temple in Madhya Pradesh and Konarak in Orissa. A consideration of all this material would have meant a rewriting of the present text, so as to incorporate the findings in the existing framework: it would also demand the extension of the time limitation the original work had set upon itself to a much later period. This would be particularly true of the great wealth of the traditions of mural and miniature paintings which have aroused enthusiastic interest of scholars and art-historians in the two last decades.

The preface to the first edition mentions the *Nṛttaratnāvalī* and the *Saṅgītarāja* and some other works which could not be considered. It would have been logical to include analysis of these texts in the second edition. A perusal of these and many others which have since been published convinced the author that a fuller analysis of the material contained in these texts demanded a separate supplementary volume and not an enlargement of the present one. Important amongst these is the Bhoja's *Sṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Ashokamalla's *Nṛityādhyāya*, Vācanācārya's *Saṅgītopaniṣat Sāro-dhara*, Śubhankara's *Hastanuktāvalī*, Mahāpātra's *Abhinaya Chandrika*, the disputed text of *Govinda līlā vilās* from Manipur, *Aṭṭaparakaram* and *Kramadīpikā* from Kerala, and many others. Many of these belong to the medieval period and open up a new field of exploration of the *deśī* traditions which constitute a parallel and complimentary stream to the *margī* or all that has been considered here. After careful consideration of the material the author came to the conclusion that it would be more profitable to follow the present study with a supplementary volume supported by charts and glossary rather than to revise the present text which seeks to present an unified picture of one stream, over a limited period.

What is true of the textual material, also holds good for the literary works. Here also a larger body of Sanskrit literature is now available and one can no longer restrict consideration of Sanskrit writing to the 13th century. Dramatic writing continued until 17th century and in some cases later. A comprehensive account of all this would also demand an independent volume and not a revision. Also, concurrent was the evolution of Indian languages, and the developments in theatre, music and dance reflected in these works. The author has attempted to survey these literatures in these years and the results of these in relation to the development of dance and dance drama, dependent primarily on the literatures of these languages have been incorporated in a volume on traditional Dance-drama forms under publication by the National Book Trust. The study takes into account this later Sanskrit drama and the growth of Indian literatures: in this respect it should be considered a supplementary volume which attempts to establish the multiple continuities.

As, has been mentioned above, new evidence of dance and movement in Indian sculpture has come to light. Besides, there has been a substantial increase in a detailed analysis of other monuments of the medieval period. Consideration of this material would demand the enlargement of the present chapter on Sculpture and Dancing manifold. Of particular relevance to the present study would be the study of the sculptural reliefs of the Śāraṅgapāni and Nāgeśvara temple in Kumbhakonam and some others which have cleaned up in Śrīraṅgam and Jagannāth, Puri. Apart from the Indian material, a natural extension would be to take into account the prolific depiction of the movement of the dance in monuments of Asia ranging from Afghanistan to Indonesia and Cambodia. All this could not be contained in the present volume, because it would need the addition of at least another four hundred plates. Thus instead of presenting a few scattered examples the author has already begun working on a comprehensive monograph on *Karaṇas* which it is hoped will be published by the Department of Archaeology, Tamilnadu. Repeated visits to the three sites of Bṛhadeśvara, Chidambaram and Śāraṅgapāni have convinced the author for the need for a complete reevaluation of the subject, notwithstanding the valuable work of Sri C. Sivaramamurti in his *Naṭarāja in Indian Art, Thought and Literature* and the unpublished work of the late Sri T. N. Ramachandran.

Separately, papers have been presented in two succeeding International Congresses of Orientalists in Ann Arbor and Paris on the sculpture reliefs relating in Prambanan and Borobudur and those of Cambodia and Burma. These are under publication.

The whole sphere of painting had to be excluded in the first edition on account of the limitation of space and paucity of funds. This time also, it could not be included for these reasons, and another, more significant, what appeared to the author and to her eminent gurus like the late Dr. Vasudeva Saran Agrawala and

Dr. Moti Chandra to be scanty material, of mural traditions and the stereo-typed repetition of the stylized pose, in miniature painting has indeed turned out, on deeper digging, to be an unparalleled documentation through line and colour of the history of choreographical patterns, movement and costuming. The author has been able to collect data relating to dance and theatre forms from the earliest pre-historic cave paintings, pottery and ceramics to the company school of the British period. Most significant amongst these is a sizeable body of paintings from the mural paintings of the Vijayanagaram and the Nayak Schools and the documentation in the monuments of Kerala both temples and palaces, which have been cleaned up by the Archaeological Survey of India. Knowledge is no longer restricted to the Mattanacherry and Padamanabhan-puram palaces. Alongside has been the unravelling of many valuable sets of Jaina miniature painting. The three volumes of Jaina Art and Architecture, Moti Chandra and Karl Khandalvala's work on New Documents in Indian Painting and the late Dr. Moti Chandra's last book on Studies in Early Indian Painting have thrown significant light on these. The evidence relating to dance in these and much else which remains unpublished (but to which the author has had access fortunately) is immense and an analysis of this will no doubt present new facets of the performing arts. Neither the present format of the book, nor the expenses involved would allow the inclusion of this material. Since the field of painting is integral to the basic framework, the Sangeet Natak Akademi plans to bring out a companion volume on the subject.

The chapter on Music and Dancing was considered proportionately brief and inadequate by some critics. While it would be possible to enlarge the scope of the chapter to include earlier and recent publications of musical texts, the author did not consider it necessary to change the basic structure of the book merely to include more textual material much of it adequately dealt with by other scholars. Nevertheless, the author's exploration of the oral-traditions of music as pertinent to dance styles revealed that there was a vast storehouse of regional musical traditions which lay untouched. A consideration of this material would necessitate a technical examination of the compositions, supported by charts, notation of notes and movement, line drawings and the rest. All this work could not be undertaken by the publishers. The author hopes that younger scholars will pursue this line of inquiry and conduct such technical investigations. Indeed, the author is happy to say that two scholars have begun working in the field.

And finally no account of the dance and the Indian performing arts would be complete without taking into account of the variegated and significant living traditions still extant in tribal and rural India. Their contribution in shaping the traditions of the classical arts cannot be overlooked. This distinct though related field had to be investigated: the author has made an attempt at identifying this contribution and the mutual dependence of the two traditions of the literary and the illiterate, the *margi* and the *desī* in a publication entitled the traditions of Indian

Folk Dance published by the Indian Book Company. Many aspects of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, lost to the classical arts live and vibrate in the tribal and rural dances of India.

The above enumeration will perhaps convince readers that although the author shared their anxiety for a second revised and enlarged edition, the source material was far too vast and immense to commend such a course of action. Thus, instead of rewriting an old book, the author preferred to write supplementary works which would be a natural filling up of the basic framework followed in the original work. Also, the author is of the belief that the original work continues to provide the foundation of an approach to the study of dance and has validity.

This belief has been confirmed and supported by the reception which was received by the original work from scholars from diverse disciplines, ranging from Dr. G. C. Pande, Dr. V. Raghavan, Sri A. Ghosh, Dr. N. R. Ray, Dr. Karl Khandalvala to Reginald Massey, Betty Jones, Renee Renouf and others. Also, it is gratifying to note that scholars and students have begun to follow a methodology of research in the Indian Arts which aims at a total (albeit perhaps not a holistic) view rather than a fragmentary and unidimensional approach.

KAPILA VATSYAYAN

New Delhi
30th June, 1976

INTRODUCTION

THE present study is an attempt to investigate the nature and extent of the part played by other arts, especially literature, sculpture and music, in the development of Indian dance and to determine the role of dance in these arts. Since all classical Indian arts accept a common theory, which they faithfully follow, the attempt has necessarily involved a review of the fundamental principles of aesthetics which have governed the practice of these arts for fourteen centuries or so. Thus the scope of this presentation is:

- (i) to give a general idea of the aesthetic theory common to literature, poetics, dramaturgy, sculpture, painting, music and dancing;
- (ii) (a) to analyze the theory and technique of classical Indian dancing, with particular emphasis on the significance of symbols and symbolization;
(b) to trace the history of the theory of dance as formulated in the Sanskrit texts from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* to the *Bālarāmaḍharatam*; and
(c) to analyze the conscious attempts to represent and illustrate dance movements in sculpture, as in the Cidambaram temple;
- (iii) (a) to analyze the references to dancing in the creative (*kāvya*) literature of Sanskrit from the early Vedic texts to the late medieval dramatic works (XIII-XIV cc.);
(b) to identify the general and more particular forms of dancing prevalent in different periods; and
(c) to establish the close relationship between dance and drama and to see how the technique of dance affects the dramatic technique of the classical drama;
- (iv) (a) to analyze the treatment of the human body as form in Indian sculpture and dancing;
(b) to interpret the concepts of *māna*, *sūtra* and *bhaṅga* as principles of space, mass and weight manipulation;
(c) to review the *Yakṣī* and *Śālabhañjikā* motifs as figures representing dance movement in Indian sculpture; and
(d) to analyze the dance scenes in sculpture in terms of the technical terminology of dance as enunciated by Bharata; and
- (v) to trace the history of dance through pictorial evidence from the earliest murals to medieval miniature painting tradition;
- (vi) to consider the general principles of Indian musical theory and musical composition in their bearing on classical dance composition.

INTRODUCTION

The sources utilized for this study are the Sanskrit texts from the *R̥g-vedic* period to the fourteenth century and the examples of Indian sculpture from the earliest figurines of the Indus Valley to medieval sculpture in the field as also in collections. No attempt has been made to extend the study to the material available in regional languages.

II

The aesthetic enjoyment of the classical Indian dance is considerably hampered today by the wide gap between the dancer and the spectator. Even the accomplished dancer, in spite of his mastery of technique, may sometimes only be partially initiated in the essential qualities of the dance form and its aesthetic significance. But, in the case of the audience, only the exceptional spectator is acquainted with the language of symbols through which the artist achieves the transformation into the realm of art. The majority are somewhat baffled by a presentation which is obviously contextual and allusive but which derives from traditions to which they have no ready access. Although they are aware that the dance is an invitation, through its musical rhythms, to the world in time and, through its sculptural poses, to the world in space, in which the character portrayed is living, they are unable to identify themselves with him. Far less are they able to attain such identity with the dancer in his portrayal of the particular role.

Even this awareness is, however, a partial and imperfect comprehension of the essential inter-relationship of the arts, which is one of the basic assumptions of classical Indian aesthetics. This inter-relation, or rather this integrity, of all the arts is well illustrated by the dialogue between King Vajra and Mārkaṇḍeya in the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara Purāṇa*.

King Vajra requests the sage to accept him as his disciple and teach him the art of icon-making, so that he may worship the deities in their proper forms. The sage replies that one cannot understand the principles of image-making without a knowledge of painting. The king wishes for instruction in this art and is told that, unless he is accomplished as a dancer, he cannot grasp even the rudiments of painting. The king requests that he be taught dancing, whereupon the sage replies that, without a keen sense of rhythm or a knowledge of instrumental music, proficiency in dance is impossible. Once again the king requests that he be taught these subjects; to which the sage replies that a mastery of vocal music is necessary before one can be proficient in instrumental music; and so finally the sage takes the king through all these stages before he is taught the art of iconography.

The present study is an attempt to determine the exact part played by these arts in the creation of Indian dance and in turn to ascertain the role of Indian dancing in these arts. Through the history of classical Indian sculpture and lit-

crature, it is possible to put together a fairly continuous social and technical history of dance.

III

The Hindu mind views the creative process as a means of suggesting or re-creating a vision, however fleeting, of a divine truth; and regards art as a means of experiencing a state of bliss akin to the absolute state of *ānanda* or *jīvanmukti* (release in life). The spectator must also thus have an inner preparedness to receive this vision and be a potential artist; he is a *rasika*, a *sahṛdaya*, one who is capable of responding. The training and initiation of this person is almost as important as the training and discipline of the artist himself. All Indian arts, especially the arts of music and dancing, thus demand a trained and initiated spectator. An awareness of the salient features of the vast background of Indian dancing can help formulate some of the demands traditionally made on the spectator. This study will, therefore, naturally concern itself with the basic aesthetic principles shared by all arts and then proceed to examine those aspects of the different Indian arts which have played an important role in the theory, technique and practice of Indian dancing.

If one may be permitted to anticipate the result of the study in general terms, one may suggest that in the technique of Indian dance the wheel of Indian aesthetics seems to have come full circle. Whereas in other arts the human being is the subject of artistic treatment, Indian dance treats the human form as a vehicle of artistic expression and synthesizes in itself the content and form of other arts into one homogeneous, beautiful whole. It is not an accident that the dancing Śiva, Naṭaraja, represents the apotheosis of the spiritual and artistic faith and the striving of people. This image is the supreme symbol of all aspects of life as much as dance itself represents the synthesis of all aspects of creative activity.

I

INDIAN AESTHETICS

FOR the traditional Indian artist, regardless of the field in which he worked artistic creation was the supreme means of realizing the Universal Being. Art was a discipline (*sādhana*), a *yoga*, and a sacrifice (*yajña*).

Any form of *sādhana* is a means of achieving a state of complete harmony (*sāmarasya*) and thus of total release (*svātantrya*) from the 'so-much-ness' (*iyattā*) of life; it leads to a recognition of one's truer self. These were also the ends which the Indian artist, as a *sādhaka*, pursued.

The spiritual, mental and physical discipline required in the search for complete harmony is *yoga*. *Yoga* is adeptness or efficiency in any activity undertaken by the individual: this is the *karmasu kauśalam* of the *Bhagavadgītā*. *Yoga* is the power of withdrawal of mental energy from all activity not directed towards the single end in view; it is also perspicacity of vision which enables one to see the underlying unity of everything.

All activity, inasmuch as it is dedicated activity, is a sacrificial offering: *yajña* is the offering of the best that one has to the best that one seeks. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* elaborates the concept of cosmic sacrifice, the counterpart of the idea of perpetual sacrifice treated of in *Upaniṣad* literature. The artist was also obligated to the offering of his best to his *iṣṭadevatā*.

Accepting this major concept of Hindu spiritual and philosophical thought, the Indian artist could not possibly regard the problem of art creation as one of giving universal significance to his own subjective experience. He was involved in a discipline for the attainment of the Infinite, the Universal Being, in his individual self. The problem for him was one of suggesting or revealing or recreating this Infinite, Divine Self through finite symbols of stone, line, language, sound and movement. Through this creation he sought to evoke a state of pure joy (*ānanda*). The artist was indeed like the worshipper who saw again and again the Godhead and who attempted to re-create the ultimate state of his realization through the specific technique of his art. To a person so conditioned, an art creation was a spiritual discipline, in which he had intuitively to know the truth of what he experienced before he gave it a concrete manifestation in art. Physical perception, the imitation of nature, was irrelevant to this belief, and artistic creation could be a success only if it achieved the supreme artistic purpose of creating a state of bliss, second only to the seeker's ultimate goal of absolute bliss in the *Brahman* (*Brahmānanda*). The aesthetic experience was considered second only to the supreme experience and was thus termed its twin brother (*brahmānandasahodara*).

If the above concepts were the fundamental principles of an artistic consciousness, the realm of aesthetics or the artistic experience could obviously not be limited to ideas, conflict and thought. 'Ideas' and the problems of suffering, pain

and 'conflict' belonged properly to the realms of philosophy; aesthetics, like religion, was the realm of the spirit. The artist's pre-occupation was with the 'symbol' through which states of being could be suggested or re-created. Subjective personal experience played little or no part, and artistic creation began only when the artist had attained, in his own intuitive mind, the state of calm termed as *hrdayaviśrānti* (equilibrium). Having conquered all personal suffering and pain and attained this state of complete detached emotion, he presented through age-old symbols the spectrum of life only to re-create a similar state of being in the reader or spectator, a state in which the latter could experience, however transitorily, the pure bliss (*ānanda*) of art.

The aesthetic which emerged as a result of these beliefs was the theory of *rasa*. Since the human being and his subjective emotion were not themes important enough to be portrayed in art, life was seen as a series of states of being which, though diverse, led to one transcendental experience of bliss.

The theory of *rasa*, as conceived by the Hindu aesthetician and as practised by the artist, has two aspects. The first is the evoked state (*rasāvasthā*) in which transcendental bliss is experienced; the second is the sentiments, the moods, the permanent and transitory states, which were the object of presentation. The second provided the content of art; the first was its ultimate objective. The configuration of numerous transitory states (*vyabhicārī bhāva*), involuntary states (*sāttvika bhāva*) and dominant moods (*sthāyī bhāva*) into eight or nine states of being can be understood in the light of these spiritual beliefs. The technique of the arts was directly conditioned by these principles, and the techniques of the Indian arts are the rules through which these *rasa* states can be evoked. These principles are evident in the rules of proportion in architecture, in the detailed formulations of the principles of *tāla* (measurement) and *bhaṅga* (stance) of Indian sculpture, in the relative disposition and proportion of colour and perspective in painting, in the patterns of division and combination of the movements of the major limbs (*aṅga*) and the minor limbs (*upāṅga*) in dancing, and in the use of *śruti* and *svara* (notes) in a given mode (*rāga*) to create a particular mood in Indian music.

It is the aesthetic theory of *rasa* which provides an underlying unity to the Indian arts. Deriving from this fundamental belief about the nature of the aesthetic experience, they share with one another the principles of technique while maintaining their autonomy. There are numerous points of contact where one art form borrows or even builds upon the achievements and techniques of other forms. Although the theoretical canons of any one art prescribe techniques relating only to that particular art form, the underlying principles are the same and are often taken for granted or referred to only implicitly.

While it is not intended to discuss the theoretical and historical development of the theory of *rasa* in detail, it is necessary to survey briefly the salient features of this theory which guided the practice of the arts in India through many centuries.

The two aspects of *rasa* mentioned above, the transcendental experience and the objects of presentation, gave rise to two separate discussions in the critical texts on Indian aesthetics. First, there was the inquiry into the nature of this experience itself; secondly, the discussion bore upon the form and techniques of presentation of the transitory and permanent states of mind through the diverse media of language, mass and volume, sound, movement, etc. The inquiry into the nature of the aesthetic experience was pursued within the framework of recognized schools of philosophic thought, while the study of form and technique resulted in several manuals dealing with different art forms.

The best examples of discussion on the nature of the aesthetic experience are to be found in theoretical treatises on literature, specifically poetics and dramaturgy. Although the earliest formulator of the theory, Bharata, did not himself enter into the metaphysical aspects of the aesthetic experience, the commentators approached the question from the point of view of the different systems of Indian philosophy, *nyāya*, *sāṅkhya* and *vedānta*, and the *Śaiva* doctrine of Kashmir. The discussion is so lively that the history of Indian aesthetics during this period may be considered as merely the history of the interpretation of these discussions on the nature of the aesthetic experience in the context of these philosophies. Significantly, the one point on which all the commentators agreed was the intrinsic difference between aesthetic emotion and emotion in real life. Whether the approach was the *nyāya* one of Śrīsaṅkuka, or the *sāṅkhya* or *vedānta* of Bhaṭṭanāyaka, or the *Śaiva* one of Abhinavagupta, it was unanimously accepted that the aesthetic experience at the highest level was essentially different from any experience in the empirical world. The scholars further agreed that the state of being which this art-experience evoked was a state akin to that of spiritual realization.

According to Abhinavagupta, whose approach was that of *Śaiva* monism, the duality of subject and object disappeared through intense introversion, and, ultimately, a state was evoked unlike any empirical experience. This state was a transcendental one (*alaukika*) like the experience of pure bliss (*ānanda*). His notions of taste (*rasikatva*), aesthetic susceptibility (*sahṛdayatva*), power of visualization (*pratibhā*), poetic culture (*kāvyaṇuśīlana*), contemplative habit (*bhāvanā*) and a capacity for identification or 'becoming' (*tanmayībhavanā-yogyatā*) clearly express his belief in the distinct quality of the aesthetic experience.

The artist in turn began with the premise that his ultimate aim was to attain this perfect state of release and that art was the special instrument through which the artist revealed to the initiated and responsive mind (the *sahṛdaya*, the *rasika*) the reality of the Universal Being experienced by him.

Such being the beliefs and assumptions shared by the theoretician and the artist, the problem that exercised their minds was that of the technique pertinent to each art. It is precisely this aspect of the arts of poetry, drama, architecture, sculpture, painting, music and dance that is most frequently elaborated upon in

the theoretical treatises, while the spiritual aims and philosophic attitudes are taken for granted. The continuity of tradition in the arts was maintained so long as these principles were accepted as a matter of faith; when the underlying beliefs came to be doubted, the tradition fell into decay or disintegrated altogether.

Rasa as a theory of technique can profitably be applied to all the creative arts in India. The technique of all arts, as enunciated by the theorists and manifested in the creative works, makes it quite clear that it did not permit or condone negation of the established and verified laws of execution.

Once intuitive idea had been grasped by the artist on the spiritual plane, he followed faithfully and rigorously the laws of arrangement of word, line, mass, colour, posture, sound and movement as laid down in the canons. Through all their crowded multiplicity on the plane of execution, he never lost sight of the fact that all these rules were designed to perfect the instrument of expression of the ultimate spiritual fountain-head and the Infinite Spirit: each single detail of technique was significant only in so far as it was a hand-maid to the central intuitive idea and the Absolute State. Had the technique of the Indian arts been merely a collection of technical rules, it would have been difficult for the creative artist to adhere to them so faithfully and so completely over a period of fourteen centuries. Also had the technical laws not allowed freedom of expression, experimentation and innovation, there would have been artistic revolts.

Classical Indian architecture, sculpture, painting, literature (*kāvya*), music and dancing evolved their own rules conditioned by their respective media, but they shared with one another not only the underlying spiritual beliefs of the Indian religio-philosophic mind but also the procedures by which the relationships of the symbol and the spiritual states were worked out in detail. Each art worked out an elaborate system for the presentation of the different elements of a work of art in a deliberate and well-defined pattern. The different constituents of drama, poetry, architecture, etc., were enunciated to instruct the artist in the manner of and material for presenting them: each constituent had a precise function to perform. The more deeply we penetrate the technique of any Indian art, the more clearly we see that what may seem spontaneous, individual, impulsive and natural to the lay spectator is in reality well-considered, long-inherited, minutely studied and imbued with a highly symbolic significance.

Bharata discusses this aspect of aesthetics in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and to him the problem of aesthetics is actually one mainly of technique. In fact, it would seem that the sole aim of Bharata was to instruct dramatists, stage managers and actors in the ways and means of producing drama, to tell them of the various methods and techniques by which a particular *rasa* could be evoked.

The analysis of the plot, character and types of enacting (*abhinaya*), different modes (*vṛtti*) of delivery, elaborate conventions (*dharmī*) of suggestive or realistic

presentation and of zoning (*kakṣāvibhāga*), as well as the rules governing the use of costumes, colours, ornaments and even coiffure can fully be appreciated only if we realize that each of these was a vehicle of a greater purpose and had a function to perform beyond itself. Each element was correlated to the basic state (*sthāyī bhāva*) which was to be portrayed through a series of transitory states (*vyabhicārī bhāva*). Thus the nature of the *rasa* and the *sthāyī bhāva* determined the type of plot, character and speech the dramatist was to use; it also determined the nature of the stage presentation and the proportion of the different types of *abhinaya*—those relating to movement (*āṅgika*), speech (*vācika*), internal states (*sāttvika*), costume and make-up (*āhārya*). Bharata also laid down conventions of stage presentation—realistic (*lokadharmī*) or suggestive (*nāṭyadharmī*)—most appropriate for any particular type of drama: he prescribed the mode or manner (*vṛtti*) of speech delivery for different types of action, theme or locale—the graceful (*kaiśikī*), the energetic (*ārabhaṭī*), the verbal (*bhāratī*) and the grand (*sāttvatī*). Thus every movement of the body and each gesture of every limb has been analyzed to correlate it to its particular transitory and basic emotional state; each pattern of rhythm, musical note and speech has been dissected in order to establish the complex and deliberate design in the presentation of drama in its totality. There is no scope here for chance and no place for the personal subjectivity of the artist. The actors of the Hindu drama are thus master manipulators of gesture within the different conventions of dramatic performance, as the puppet-showman is of the limbs of his puppets. The representation of the emotions of the hero is to be entirely independent of the actor's or dancer's own feelings. Hence he or she can enjoy the transcendental flavour, the *rasa*, in the same impersonal way as the audience. The work of art and also the artist and the actor thus become participants in a ritual where the work of art is the *yantra*—the device through which the *sādhaka* (artist) sees the vision of the Absolute as much as the audience to whom the work of art is presented.

The same principles guide the various systems of Indian classical music. The classification of sound notes (*svara*) into micro-intervals (*śruti*) which combine to form different types of *rāga* can be understood in terms of the individual emotional content of single entities of sound and their total effect in a composition. The twenty-two micro-intervals (*śrutis*) which the theoreticians of Indian music speak of are like gestures in dance or words in poetry, imbued with a distinct character and significance. The sentiments or expressions which are indicated by each of the *śrutis* have been classified, each *śruti* being given a name depicting its character; and in some systems, as in that of Pārśvadeva, these names, were different for each octave. These expressions were further classified into five main groups (*jāti*) called moderate (*madhyā*), keen (*dīptā*), large (*āyatā*), compassionate (*karuṇā*) and tender (*mṛdu*)¹. From these twenty-two main intervals (*śruti*), the seven notes (*svara*) are derived. The word *svara*, accurately translated, is not only the pitch of sound, but a pitch of sound which is capable of an expression². As defined by Śārṅgadeva, “sound is first heard as an interval—a *śruti*, but the resonance that immediately

follows, conveying of itself (without external aid) an expression to the mind of the hearer, is called *svara*—a musical note”³. Every *svara* stands for a certain definite emotion or mood and has been classified according to its relative importance, and it forms a different part of the “person” of the modal scale (*mūrchanā*).

“The note *Sa* (*saḍja*, the tonic) is said to be the soul. *Ri* (*rṣabha*) is called the head, *Ga* (*gāndhāra*) is the arms, *Ma* (*madhyama*) is the chest, *Pa* (*pañcama*), the throat, *Dha* (*dhaivata*), the lips, *Ni* (*niṣāda*), the feet. Such are the seven limbs of the modal scale”⁴. These notes are also said to correspond with the seven basic elements of the physical body and issue from the seven centres (*cakra*)⁵ of the subtle body.

The mathematical classification of sounds as intervals and relative pitches is the basis on which their musical classification as expressive notes is made. Various notes, carefully selected from the twenty-two intervals of the *śruti* scale, group together to form a mode, a *rāga*. The essential feature of a *rāga* is its power of evoking a state of being in the hearer. The different definitions of *rāga* contained in texts of music point to the state which it arouses by using definite musical notes in a special sequence and combination. Thus Maṭaṅga defines *rāga* “as a composition of notes (*svara*) having a peculiar musical significance in their values of duration (*sthāyī*), ascent (*ārohaṇa*), descent (*avarohaṇa*) or movement (*sañcārī*) and capable of invoking in the human mind particular feelings”, (literally, of colouring the hearts of men)⁶. The definitions of *śruti*, *svara* and *rāga* given above will indicate the great importance attached to the evocative quality of sound. Each *śruti* has a definite character; the names *mandā*, *candovatī*, *dayāvatī*, *rañjanī*, *raudrī*, *krodhā*, *ugrā* or *kṣobhinī* denote their emotional quality which dwells in combination or singly in the notes of the modal scale: thus *dayāvatī*, *rañjanī* and *ratikā* dwell in the *gāndhāra* and each of the notes (*svara*) of the scale in its turn has its own kind of expression and distinct psychological or physical effect and can be related to a colour, a mood (*rasa* or *bhāva*), a metre, a deity or one of the subtle centres (*cakra*) of the body⁷. The correspondences of notes with moods (*rasa*) and colour are listed in all the important treatises on music. Thus for the *śṛṅgāra* (amorous or erotic) and the *hāsya* (laughter) *rasa*, the *madhyama* and the *pañcama* are used; for the *vīra* (heroic), *raudra* (wrathful) and the *adbhuta* (wondrous), the *saḍja* and the *rṣabha*; for the *bībhatsa* (revulsive) and the *bhayānaka* (fearsome), the *dhaivata*; and for the *karuṇa* (compassionate), the *niṣāda* and the *gāndhāra* are used⁸. A similar correspondence with colours is also worked out; then these notes, each with its particular seer (*ṛṣi*) and *rasa*, combine in various sequences to form harmonic structures specific to each *rāga*. The name of each particular *rāga* thus connotes a scale bearing a distinct relationship of the successive notes (*svara*) to the invariable ‘tonic’ or drone, with its harmonic structure determined by the *vādī* (sonant), the *samvādī* (consonant) and the *aṁśa svara* (the chief note). Each *rāga* in turn suggests a particular state; thus the different *rāgas* have been categorized according to the emotional effects they produce and linked to different periods in the day-night cycle.

The technique of Indian music, like the technique of Indian drama, thus analyzes in detail the uses of each single unit and interval of sound to produce a configuration of a basic emotional state or mood (*sthāyī bhāva* or *rasa*). We see thus that the concepts and methods used by the Indian musician are exactly the same as those used by the dramatist: the differences are only modifications due to the change of medium. Just as the Indian poet or dramatist, in order to evoke a certain *rasa*, presents a single theme with one *sthāyī bhāva*, so also the Indian musician chooses a particular *rāga* to evoke a particular *rasa*. The *svara*, with its variations of *komala* (flat), *tīvra* (sharp), *śuddha* (pure), is analogous to speech with its different types or modes; and the composition of the notes in the different phases of the *rāga*—the *ālāpa*, the *sthāyī* and the *antarā* (or the *pallavī*, the *anupallavī* and the *caraṇam* of Karnataka music)—correspond to the junctures (*sandhi*) of drama. The different methods of manipulating them parallel the different types of *abhinaya* with its components of *vibhāva*, *anubhāva*, and *vyābhicārī bhāva* conditioned by the *vṛtti* and the particular convention of presentation (*dharmī*). The multiplicity of the various aspects of poetry and drama, viz., words (*alaṅkāra*) in poetry and speech, enacting (*abhinaya*) in drama, give rise to the harmonious oneness of the basic state (*sthāyī bhāva*). The *rāga* employs the multiplicity of the *svara* (note) structures as components which are used in a given sequence with the full realization of the subtle distinctions between the emotional quality of any two notes, and the characteristics of the *śruti* which dwell in each of these notes—out of sixty-six possible intervals (*śruti*), twenty-two are chosen on account of the distinctive emotional quality assigned to them—give rise to the main basic mood of the *rāga* which would in turn evoke the particular *rasa*⁹. The principles which each art follows are devised in pursuit of identical aims and have analogous concepts of the structure of artistic composition.

The above, however, is a discussion of the technique of music only from the aesthetic point of view. It is necessary to mention that, like literature, music also has a philosophic and spiritual basis for its aesthetic character. According to the *Brahmanāda* theory, cosmic sound (*nāda*) is considered the cause of the material universe and is identified with the *Brahman* of the *Upaniṣads*. The structure of music is based only on audible or perceptible sound (*āhaṭa nāda*) and not on absolute sound (*anāhaṭa nāda*), which belongs to the sphere of *yoga*. There is, however, a close relationship between the two; and the choice of the twenty-two from amongst the sixty-six arithmetically possible intervals (*śruti*) is made on this basis. The relationship between *śruti* and *nāda* is visualized as the relationship between the actual and the potential: *śruti* is the immediate expression of *nāda*, which leads to the perception of the latter. Because *nāda* is related to the ultimate exactly as rays are to a gem, and just as an approach to the rays of a gem leads to the attainment of the gem itself, so the apprehension of *nāda* leads to the realization of the ultimate; and music is the process by which the Absolute can be apprehended through the sensuous medium of *śruti* and *svara* and of the *rāga*¹⁰.

Turning our attention to Hindu architecture, sculpture and painting, we find that these arts also manifest the principle of multiplicity and unity on the spiritual, philosophic and aesthetic planes. Hindu architecture proves most powerfully that all art reposes on some unity and all its details, whether few and sparing as in the Buddhist *stūpa* or crowded and full as in the Hindu temple, must go back to that unity and further its significance; otherwise it is not art and has not fulfilled its function. Indian architecture constantly represents the greatest oneness of the self, the cosmic and the infinite in the immensity of its world design. All the special features of this architecture, its starting point of unity in conception, its crowded abundance of mass and design of significant sculpture, ornament and detail, and its return to the oneness, are 'the necessary units of this immense epic poem of the Infinite'. Without going into the technique of architecture which lays down the method by which this infinite multiplicity can fill the ultimate oneness, it is enough for our purpose here to be fully aware of the tremendous unity of purpose and design which Indian architecture symbolizes¹¹.

In terms of aesthetics, since architecture (more accurately the temple) represents heaven on earth, it arouses wonder (*vismaya*) and leads to the aesthetic experience of *adbhuta*.

Indian sculpture like Indian architecture springs from a deep spiritual realization of the Divine and the Infinite. As Sri Aurobindo very aptly states, "The divine self in us is its theme, the body made a form of the soul is its idea and its secret."¹² Just as Indian architecture reveals the unity through infinite multiplicity, Indian sculpture embodies the spirit and soul of the cosmic Infinite in the form and body of the particular, the impersonal individual which in turn suggests the cosmic and the Infinite. The religious and hieratic aspect of Indian sculpture is also vitally connected with Indian methods of contemplation, where the image is the diagram (*yantra*) which the artist and the devotee alike contemplate.

Indeed, it may be said that images are to the Hindu worshipper what diagrams are to the geometrician. The image is not a god or a divinity but merely an aspect or hypostasis (*avasthā*) of God, who is in the last analysis without likeness (*amūrta*), not determined by form (*arūpa*), trans-form (*pararūpa*). The multiplicity of Indian images and their infinite forms have to be understood in the light of their spiritual and philosophic bias. The human form, the particular attitude (*bhaṅga*, *āsana*, *mudrā*), is but the vehicle of a soul-meaning, a concrete embodiment of a great spiritual power and of inmost psychic significance: everything in the figure—face, hands, limbs, postures of every single unit of the human body—has been analyzed with the object of correlating each physical gesture with an inner meaning which will combine to carry out the rhythm of total suggestion. The parts of the human form become the intervals (*śruti*) of music and the characteristics of these basic units are worked out in great detail in treatises on Indian sculpture. In terms of aesthetics,

thus, Indian sculpture also manifests to the spectator, through the portrayal of a variety of permutations and combinations of single units, an aesthetic configuration of a *rasa* similar to that aimed at by the poet or the musician. Every inch of the human form, every joint of the human skeleton, is given a significance, for it is not only the geometrical and physical possibility which is being explored, but its correlation to the meaning, to the attitude or the state the whole will evoke. As in music, literature and poetry, so also in sculpture, the Indian artist cannot and does not take the particular, the human or the individual, as his starting point; it is the impersonal emotion, the archetype, divided into its infinitesimal types which he portrays. The aesthetic theory which Indian sculpture thus evolves is a theory of plastic expression based on a correspondence between certain proportions and certain sentiments and qualities, just as the relationships of sound determine the sentiments and moods evoked by a musical melody. Character is thus portrayed through a knowledge of types in which particular qualities predominate, and by a systematic use of the physical postures, movements, turns and thrusts of the body which correspond to the moods. This relationship of the physical gesture to a mental quality, mood or state gives Indian sculpture its distinctive character. The classification of images according to qualities (*guṇa*) into *sāttvika*, *rājasika* and *tāmasika*, the analysis of the human form in terms of measure (*tāla* and *aṅgula*), the categorization of types of movement into three *bhaṅga* (deflections) and the enumeration of images according to their postures (*āsaṇa*), have to be understood and evaluated with full realization of the final function which any piece of sculpture was designed to fulfil.

The technique of Hindu sculpture follows faithfully the elaborate and beautiful system of proportions, which it uses constantly to model different types of images: the sculptor combines the basic units of these proportions according to well-defined laws in the same way as the musician combines the basic notes according to an elaborate system which has both an arithmetical validity and an emotional and spiritual significance. The division of the human form into *tāla* and *aṅgula* and the relationship of each of these to the different axes (*sūtra*) is based on precise anatomical rules on the one hand, and laws of measurement on the other. With a set of such rules, the sculptor has at his command a series of devices by which he can depict the character of the image he is modelling. Gods, human beings, dwarfs, etc., can be modelled by employing different types of proportions (what in modern sculpture would be termed 'enlarging' or 'dwarfing' the size and volume of figures); and different aspects and moods of gods can be depicted by employing different types of *bhaṅga* (deflections from the vertical axis or *sūtra*). These laws of proportions thus become symbolic and charged with emotional expressiveness; the smallest detail of anatomy down to the form of the nostrils and nails, the breadth of the navel and relative position of the toes, feet, knees, thighs, waist, hands, arms, etc., has been carefully worked out to indicate clearly their significance in the whole figure (an attitude or pose). Comparative measurements have been laid down for the respective

images in their various aspects. The full human figure and the gods in their moods of serenity (*śānta*) or pleasantness (*śṛṅgāra*), etc., measure nine or ten units (*tāla*). But when other moods such as the heroic (*vīra*) or the terrible (*raudra*) have to be depicted, these figures assume a height of twelve units; in the fierce and the demonic (*bhayānaka*), or in aspects of the revulsive (*vībhatsa*), the height extends to fourteen *tāla* units. The goddesses and female figures in their different moods also assume the height of anything from seven to nine *tāla* units. Thus all types of characters can be depicted in terms of one of the five different sets of proportions, viz., the *daśatāla*, the *navatāla*, the *aṣṭhatāla*, the *saptatāla* or the *pañcatāla*. The *aṅgula* (like the *śruti* in music) is the basis of the *tāla*, and can further be divided and subdivided into *yava*, *yūka*, *likhyū*, *romāgāra*, *reṇu* and the *aṇu* (ray of the sun) as the minutest unit. Different texts work out the exact proportions of the human form in terms of *aṅgula* and *tāla*, taking one of the five sets of proportions for the total height of the image. Śukrācārya works out the exact details of a *daśatāla pramāṇa* image, specifying precise measurements for each part of the body from head to foot in terms of *aṅgula*. Thus, if the face is 13 *aṅgulas*, the neck is 5 *aṅgulas*, and the measurements from neck to chest, chest to navel and navel to the base of genitals are 13 *aṅgulas* each; the thigh and the calf are 27 *aṅgulas* each, the knee and the ankle are 4 *aṅgulas* each, the total height being 119 *aṅgulas*¹³.

The human form is not only divided into *tāla* on the basis of actual surface proportions, but also measured along various axes on different planes: the measures along these different sections guided the Indian sculptor in the making of images. Five principal vertical axes (*sūtra*) are enumerated by the *śilpaśāstra* texts. The *brahmasūtra* is the vertical axis or the imaginary line passing through the centre of the image and represents the direction of the pull of gravity. The *madhyasūtra* is the medial line drawn from the centre of the crown of the head, through the centre of the chest, the navel, the knees, down to the inner sides of the feet. The *pārśvasūtra* is the vertical drawn from the side of the forehead, the cheek, the side of the arm, the centre of the thighs, the centre of the knee, and the centre of the ankle-joint. The *kakṣasūtra* is drawn from the arm-pit, by the side of the hip and the calf, and terminates on the fifth toe of the foot. The *bāhusūtra* is the vertical drawn from the shoulder-joint to the ground.

The three horizontal axes which are commonly used are the *hikkāsūtra* (the line passing through the base of the neck), the *bhadrāsūtra* (passing through the navel) and the *kaṭisūtra* which passes through the hips and the pelvic girdle. The *Mānasāra* in Chapter LXVII enumerates as many as eleven *sūtras* and lays down the relative distance of each part of the human figure from each of these lines for various types of deflected stances (i.e., the *bhaṅga*, commonly translated as pose). The sculptor is thus provided with rules both for surface dimensions and for measurements along different vertical and horizontal planes and sections for every type of image. The six different sets of measurements are termed *māna*, *pramāṇa*,

unmāna, *parimāṇa* *upamāna* and *lambamāna*. The *māṇa* is the measurement of the length of the body; the *pramāṇa* is that along its breadth; the *unmāna* represents the measurement taken at right angles to the plane in which the *māṇa* and the *pramāṇa* have been measured, i.e., along the axis of the thickness or depth of the body. The *parimāṇa* is the measure of the girth or periphery; the *upamāna* refers to the position of different limbs in relation to each other, e.g., the measurement of the inter-space between the two feet. The *lambamāna* is the measurement along the vertical axes¹⁴.

With the alphabet of the *tāla* (literally an unit of time) and the measurement along the different planes, the Indian sculptor models the different poses of the image, employing all the permutations and combinations of movement possible in this given space. Any movement whatsoever can be comprehended into the four deflexions (*bhaṅga*) i.e., the *samabhaṅga*, the *abhaṅga*, the *tribhaṅga* and the *atibhaṅga* only within the complex structure of the *aṅgula*, the *tāla* and the *sūtra* measures. A pose can contain within itself endless types of plastic composition, of erect, sitting, reclining postures; movement in sculpture has thus to be understood both as a manipulation of balance and weight and as a symbol of the spiritual idea which is embodied in the image. When the *śilpaśāstra* discusses¹⁵ the exact points from which the *brahmasūtra* has to be drawn in any particular pose and the exact distance of each limb or part of the human figure from this line, it is fully conscious of the corresponding emotion which these deflexions and poses will arouse: thus the *samabhaṅga* is the pose of perfect poise and balance, the weight and mass of the body being equally divided and the right and left halves of the figure being placed in symmetrical positions. Texts prescribe the distance between the two heels, knees and thighs for this pose.

Since the *samabhaṅga* is a position of equipoise or perfect balance, it is used to show the calmer, more reposeful moods and attitudes: all the *sāttvika mudrās*, therefore, whether standing or seated or reclining, are shown in the *samabhaṅga* pose. The *dhyāna* images of Śiva, Viśnu and Buddha are in the *samabhaṅga*. The *abhaṅga* indicates the slight shift of the weight to one side and the vertical is drawn from a different point. The distance of the two big toes and of the knees from the median (*madhyasūtra*) is also different. The emotional quality of the pose does not suggest complete concentration and poise but, instead, a slight deviation from it. The slightly dynamic, the erotic (*śṛṅgāra*) and the delicately heroic (*vīra*) figures are depicted in this pose: *Gaurī* or *Kodaṇḍa Rāma* may be cited as examples. The deflection from the plumb line is relatively slight here; the weight is shifted to show the point of unrest but not of movement. The *tribhaṅga* and *atibhaṅga* denote greater deflections from the plumb line and are used to depict the heroic or the demonic moods. These proportions, deflexions, poses and *hastamudrās* (hand gestures) correspond thus to the character of the deity represented; they complete the exposition of the character otherwise set forth by means of facial expressions,

attributes, costume or gesture. Each aspect, mood or incarnation of the gods in the pantheon has its particular *bhaṅga*, *āsana*, *sthāna*, symbolic attribute, *hastamudrā*, dress and ornament. The multiplicity of the presentation of the different movements and linear measurements and their fractions, deflexions and deviations of weight and distance, all coalesce into a single powerful symbol of a unified state or mood. The pyramidal structure which we have observed in drama and music is again obvious in sculpture, where the whole reveals itself through a multiplicity of technique and design only to return to the unity and the oneness of the basic state or *bhāva*.

The fascinating and overpowering quality of the most completely conceived technique is a distinctive feature of all forms of classical Indian art, where the smallest mathematical fractions and complex combinations of measurements all combine to suggest a unified experience on the psychical plane.

A study of the alphabets and basic laws of composition of these arts clearly indicates the parallel techniques followed by them. The various aspects of technique are the first constituents to which each of these arts reduces itself, but it is the direction which is given to these constituents that gives Indian art its distinctive, spiritual and suggestive character. From the multiple base of the constituents a well-organized process leads up to an apex where each of the constituents of form has a corresponding spiritual or emotional value. The lines of technique move to form an artistic whole, corresponding physical and spiritual experiences merging in one overpowering symbol of an inner state of being.

Indian painting, in spirit, in concept of form, and in its vision, is identical with the spirit and approach of Indian sculpture. The technique of Indian painting aims to provide (like the techniques of Indian sculpture, music and literature) the utmost significance (spiritual or symbolic) to the form and appearance it visually presents. Like the Indian sculptor, the Indian painter discovered the rule of proportion, arrangement and perspective which preserved the illusion of Nature and yet suggested an inner vision and communicated a psychic truth which he had experienced. The basic principles of the technique of painting, according to most texts,¹⁶ are the six limbs (*śaḍaṅga*) which are common to all work in line and colour: *rūpabheda* represents the distinction of forms; *pramāṇa*, the proportion, arrangement of line and mass, perspective and design; *bhāva*, the emotion or aesthetic feeling expressed by the form; *lāvanya* represents the infusion of grace into artistic representation; *sādrśya* is the principle of co-visibility, the simultaneous apprehension of the truth of its form and of its suggestion; and finally the *varṇikābhaṅga* is the combination and harmony of colours.

Even this brief enumeration of principles will make it clear that the theoretician of Indian painting was correlating at every point the techniques of line and colour to the feeling or emotion they could recreate. The *Citralakṣaṇa* states even more

explicitly the rules by which emotional states and different types of character can be represented. Thus the height of a character is described in terms of the mood he can depict, and the shape of the face is determined by the *bhāva* it must express.

Without going any further into the details of the artistic technique of painting and its corresponding symbolic and spiritual values, we now pass on to an Indian art form which embodies in its spirit and form the essence of all the arts mentioned above, especially *nāṭya* (drama), *saṅgīta* (music) and *śilpa* (sculpture).

Through a beautiful and complete language of movement, Indian dance provides the most concrete manifestation of the inner state and vision we have spoken of. Indian dance, like Indian poetry, music and sculpture, seeks to communicate universal, impersonal emotion, and, through the very medium of the human form, it transcends the physical plane: in its technique, it employs the technique of all the Indian arts and it is impossible to comprehend the architectonic structure of this form without being aware of the complex techniques of the other arts which it constantly and faithfully employs and synthesizes. The themes which the Indian dancer portrays are not only the raw material of literature, but are also the finished products of literary creation; the music which seems to accompany the dance is actually the life-breath of its structure and, indeed, dance interprets in movement what music interprets in sound; the postures and the stances it attains are the poses which the Indian sculptor models: all these the dancer imbues with a living spirit of movement in a composition of form which is both sensuous and spiritual.

As was pointed out at the very outset of this study, the inter-relationship of the Indian arts is a significant and rewarding study from the point of view of both spirit and form: in the art of the Indian dance different aspects of spirit and technique merge harmoniously to make a beautiful synthesis.

It is significant that treatises on dance seldom, if ever, discuss the technique of this art form in isolation: both literature (or at least an aspect of it) and music (*saṅgīta*) are invariably discussed. Conversely, the treatises on sculpture, *nāṭya* (drama), music and painting invariably devote a portion either to dance itself or discuss certain elements of the technique of these art forms in terms of the technique of dance (*nṛtya* or *nṛtta*). Thus, treatises on painting discuss the *rasa dṛṣṭi* in terms of the glances (*dṛṣṭi*) of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and treatises on sculpture enumerate in great detail the *nṛttamūrti* (dancing aspects) of the various gods and goddesses and discuss the symbolism of the *hastamudrā* in terms of the *hastābhinaya* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Indian dancing has two distinct aspects: the *nṛtta* (pure dance) and *abhinaya* (*nṛtya*, mime, gesticulation). The *nṛtta* portion of dance depends for its lifebreath on the music and rhythm which accompany it: the *abhinaya* portion depends for its expression on the theme of the narrative or lyrical literary composition

(termed *sāhitya* by practising dancers) which is sung. This *abhinaya* portion of dance was indeed conceived originally by Bharata as an integral part of *nāṭya* (drama). In the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, he discusses it as an aspect of *nāṭya* which constitutes dancing also: the human form is analysed from the head to the toe to show, on the one hand, the various possibilities of movement of each part of the human figure, and, on the other, the use of these movements to express certain states (*bhāva*) and emotions. Throughout the discussion of the *aṅga* and the *upāṅga* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, we find that Bharata first states the movements which are physically possible and then enumerates the use (*vinīyoga*) to which they can be put in *āṅgikābhinaya*¹⁷ to represent the dominant and transitory states (*sthāyī* and *vyabhicārī bhāva*). In Chapter VII he discusses the dominant states and shows the way in which each one of these states can be represented on the stage through speech and movement. In Chapter VIII¹⁸ he analyses the movements of major limbs (*aṅga*) and minor limbs (*upāṅga*) and lays down the methods of using them to express certain sentiments (*rasa*) and to represent certain dominant states (*sthāyī bhāva*) and transitory states (*vyabhicārī bhāva*). He first indicates the glances (*dr̥ṣṭi*) corresponding to the sentiments (*rasa*), then the glances (*dr̥ṣṭi*) according to the dominant states (*sthāyī bhāva*), and then the glances corresponding to the transitory states (*vyabhicārī bhāva*). The movements of the eyeball (*tārā*) are analysed in a similar fashion; wherever it is not done by explicit statement, it is done by implication when he prescribes the uses (*vinīyoga*) of these movements. Every movement of each single limb of the human body has a corresponding emotional quality, which is analogous to the emotional expression of *śruti* and *svara* in music. Every gesture and movement of eyes, eyeballs, eyebrows, eyelids, nose, cheeks, lower lips, chin, mouth, neck, chest, breast, sides (*pārśva*), belly, waist, thigh, shank, knee, feet, and hands thus assumes a significance which it would be impossible to imagine ordinarily. This language of gestures finds its complete articulation in the *hastābhinaya*, where practically all the permutations and combinations of the fingers, palm and the wrist have been worked out and each hand-pose (*hasta*) has been employed as words are in a language. Like *nāṭya* thus the *nṛtya* and *abhinaya* portion of dancing employs the entire human form to speak a language of movement through which a *sthāyī bhāva* (dominant state) can be presented and a sentiment, a mood (*rasa*), evoked. The dance does away completely with the *vācīkābhinaya* (speech enacting) of the drama proper and employs only music and song for that purpose. The process by which it builds the *sthāyī bhāva*, however, is exactly that by which the dramatist builds up the *sthāyī bhāva* through the representation of the determinants (*vibhāva*), the consequents (*anubhāva*) and the transitory states (*vyabhicārī bhāva*). The emphasis in dancing is on the *vyabhicārī bhāva* (the transitory states), termed to this day in all styles of dancing as the *sañcārī bhāva*; the dominant state (*sthāyī bhāva*) is represented by portraying through a series of gestures the transitory states (*vyabhicārī bhāva*) of the particular dominant state (*sthāyī bhāva*).

Again the characters that the Indian dancer depicts are not only the gods

and goddesses and demons of Indian mythology but also the heroes (*nāyaka*) and heroines (*nāyikā*) of Indian drama. We find the frequent portrayal of these heroes and heroines in dance; a *nāyikā* like the *abhisārikā* often forms the heroine of the Indian dance. Indian dancing also follows all the principles of presentation of the Indian drama (*nāṭya*). The convention of the *nāṭyadharmī* is the backbone of the entire presentation of the Indian dance; it shares with Indian drama its deliberate and purposive renunciation of stage scenery and the imitation of life-like gestures, its emphasis on stylization of presentation through gesture of all situations and emotions and its rules of basic representation (*sāmānyābhinaya*) and special representation (*viśeṣa citrābhinaya*)¹⁹. The dance is a limb of the drama proper in so far as mime or gesture (*āṅgikābhinaya*), costume and make-up (*āhāryābhinaya*) form a part of drama, and is so far as the *kaiśikī vṛtti* (the graceful style) belongs as much to dance as to drama, and inasmuch as every aspect of drama has an element of dance which is indistinguishable from the former.

The *āṅgikābhinaya* of the dance is built on the themes of literature which have been set to music; this music has been conceived to correspond to the dominant state (*sthāyī bhāva*) and the transitory state (*vyabhicārī bhāva*) of the literary piece. In order to evoke a particular state, music employs a particular *rāga*, with its particular notes (*svara*) in a given order: the dancer in turn creates a whole state where the theme, the song, and the rhythm all contribute to evoke the particular mood or sentiment (*rasa*). The poses which the dancer utilizes for this purpose are identical with those of Indian sculpture, and very often the one is a visual representation in movement of the static pose of the other. The principles of movement and body manipulation are the same as those used by the *śilpaśāstra*, and practically all the poses of the *nṛtta* portion of the Indian dance can be analysed in terms of the four *bhaṅgas* on the one hand and the different types of *āsana* and *sthāna* on the other. For example, the pose used for the representation of the shooting of the arrow is *ālīḍha* in both the arts. Similarly, many attitudes in Indian sculpture can be analysed in terms of stylized dance movement, even though they may not be poses depicting dancing as such. This identification is not merely the result of the influence of one art upon another, but a reflection of the allegiance of both arts to the same basic rules of movement depiction. Even though the Indian dancer can use space more freely than the Indian sculptor, the emphasis is always on the pose which the dancer attains through a series of movements; and neither in these movements nor in the final pose (*karaṇa*) does the dancer deviate from the prescribed limitations of the plumb lines (*sūtra*) and the relative distance of the different parts of the body in a given *bhaṅga*. So much accurate sculptural representation of the dance was possible only because the two arts were so fundamentally inter-related.

We shall presently explore the valuable part played by Indian dance in the history of Indian sculpture; what must be pointed out here is that the dance

shared the minute analysis of the human figure in Indian sculpture and accepted the principles underlying its rules for the distance between any two parts of body in a given *tāla* and *bhaṅga*. In dance also each part of the human body is analysed in terms of the possibility of its movement, like the *cārī* and the *sthāna*, to give rise to the larger unit of the *karāṇa* the *karāṇa* in turn combining to give rise to a dance sequence of the *aṅgahāra*. If the Indian dance could not attain the measurements of the different types of figures of the *daśatāla* and the *navatāla* in the linear measurements, it did employ the principle of the horizontal axes (*sūtra*) of the *hikkā* (neck-line), the *bhadra* (navel) and the *kaṭi* (hip) when depicting the movements of the different portions of the human form. The head with its divisions of the face, eyes, nose, etc., is considered as a separate unit in Indian dance and is used more extensively than in any other style of dancing. The possibilities of the pivot joint of the neck are explored in full. The torso, the section of the body between the *hikkā* and the *bhadra* planes, is the next unit dealt with: detailed analysis of the *karāṇa* poses will show the importance given to the point of the navel as the base of all movements of the upper body. The *kaṭi sūtra* (hip-line) is similarly utilized to the full as the centre of the movements of the hips, thighs, knees and feet. Actually, the relationship of the *bhaṅga* with these horizontal lines and with the central vertical axis can be perfectly seen in the movements and poses of Indian dance. The relationship of the *pramāṇa* (breadth) to the central vertical axis (*brahmasūtra*) is again fully utilized in Indian dance to indicate the comparative violence or calmness of a mood. The distance between the feet is mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the description and definition of most movements; this would not have been necessary if the aim was not to maintain the perfect proportion and relationship between the vertical axis (the *brahmasūtra*), the height (*māna*) and the breadth of the horizontal plane (*pramāṇa*). The Indian dancer never errs on the side of over-extension of legs; the leaps or leg-extensions so characteristic of Western ballet are comparatively rare in Indian dance. The other technical aspect common to Indian sculpture and dancing is hand gestures (*hastābhinaya*). If the texts of Hindu iconography and texts of Indian dancing do not use quite the same words, they use the same language and many hand gestures and their symbolic meanings are common to both the arts²⁰.

A comparison of the technique of the Indian arts has thus shown us that certain aspects of the Indian arts are integral parts of the technique of Indian dancing and that it embodies the salient features of each of these arts. Actually, these arts not only share the common goal of all art and the aim of spiritual fulfilment but do so through similar and occasionally overlapping techniques. All Indian arts create an illusion of spontaneity which, when examined carefully, is the result of the perfect and flawless execution of multiple and complex systems of technique. The technique becomes especially significant because it is the vital vehicle of a profound vision which the artist has known and which he is seeking to suggest through his particular medium with the greatest possible concentration of rhythmic

unity. The freedom, the *moksa*, which the artist attains is through the rigorous discipline which the technique demands of him, in which his undisciplined subjective emotions have no part to play. The work of art truly becomes for the artist and the audience alike a *yantra*, a diagrammatic image, a symbolic key to a vision of unity, timeless and eternal. The repetition of themes, content and form is then no longer a cramping and delimiting boredom but a source of strength. Contemplation of this *yantra*, this spiritually as well as aesthetically satisfying symbol, can lead to a state in which bliss (*ānanda*) and complete release in life (*iīvanmukti*) may be experienced, however briefly. The concentrated vitality and discipline of the image of Śiva as Naṭarāja symbolizes all these aspects of the spirit and form of Indian art; the complexity of technique gives rise to but 'a single and unified ascension of the spirit' which is embodied in that symbol.

Notes

1. *Sanḡitaratnākara* (Adyar), I.43. 27-28.
2. See *Bṛhaddeśī* (of Mataṅga), Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, commentary on I. 63, where the derivation of the word *svara* is 'that which shines of itself'.
3. *Sanḡitaratnākara* (Adyar), I.3. 24-25.
4. *Nārada Saṁhitā*, 2. 53-54.
5. See Kallinātha's commentary on *Sanḡitaratnākara*, I. 3-23.
6. Mataṅga: *Bṛhaddeśī*, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series p 81. For other definitions of *rāga*, see Somanātha's *Rāga Vibodha*, 1.4, and Dāmodara Miśra's *Saṅgītadarpana* (Calcutta Edition), 2.1. Also see Tagore, S. M.: *Hindu Music from Various Authors*, p. 27, where many definitions have been collected.
7. See Danielou, Alain: *Northern Indian Music*, Vol. I, pp. 58-60, for the relationship of *svara* and *śruti* and their classification according to emotional characteristics.
8. See *Bṛhaddeśī*, I. 84. *Sanḡitaratnākara*, I. 3.52 ff., where the exact correspondence of each *svara* to colour, deity, metre, dynasty, caste, place of origin, *Ṛsi* and *rasa* is worked out, and Kunhan Rāja's translation of *Sanḡitaratnākara*, Ch. I, pp. 54 and 64.
9. For a detailed study of the structure of the *rāga* and its relationship to *rasa* see Bharata: *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. XXVIII, XXIX and XXXVIII; Mataṅga: *Bṛhaddeśī: Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, Part III, Ch. XVIII-XIX; Nārada: *Sanḡitamakaranda*; Sārṅgadeva: *Sanḡitaratnākara*; Somanātha: *Rāga Vibodha* and Śrīkaṇṭha: *Rasa-Kaumudī*.
10. For a discussion of these aspects of music see *Sanḡitaratnākara*, I. 2.1, 1.2, 140 and I. 3.3.10 and *Sanḡitamakaranda* of Nārada.
11. A detailed discussion on architecture is not within the scope of our study. For a full discussion of the principles of architecture, see *Vastuśāstra* and *Silpaśāstra: Mānasollāsa* of Bhaṭṭa Someśvara, *Mayamata* of Mayamuni, *Samarāṅgaṇasutradhāra* (two chapters edited by Dr. V. Raghavan JISOA III, pp. 15-32); *Mānasāra*, edited by P. K. Acharya; Bagchi, P. C. *Piṅgalamāpa*, Ch. IV—JISOA Vol. XI, pp. 9-37, and Kramrisch, Stella; *The Hindu Temple*, where the symbolism and form of the Hindu temple are discussed.
12. Śri Aurobindo: *The Fundamentals of Indian Culture*, p. 261

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13. There are differences of opinion with regard to the basic unit of measurement in the different texts of iconography; and *anṅula* is thought of as the more ancient basic unit by some authors. Also different texts of iconography give different measures for the images of the same *tāla*: thus the *daśatāla* image can also be divided into different proportions. For our purpose here, it is important to know the underlying principle rather than the details of different specifications. For a detailed discussion on *tāla* measurements, see the following:
Brhatsaṃhitā (Ch. LVII-LVIII), (translation by Banerjee, J. N., in his *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd edition, pp. 578-89);
Pratimāmānalakṣaṇam—(translation, *ibid.*, pp. 590 ff.);
Mānasāra (specially Ch. LXV);
Samarāṅgaṇa sūtradhāra (of Bhoja), Vol. I,
Śukrānītisāra (of Śukracārya), IV. 4;
Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, III. 34;
Matsya Purāṇa, Ch. XLII and CCLVIII-CCLIX;
Rao, Gopinatha: *Elements of Hindu Iconography*;
Acharya, P. K.: *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, Vol. VII, p. 195 ff.;
Banerjee, J. N.: *Development of Hindu Iconography*;
Hadaway, W. S.: *Some Hindu Śilpaśāstras in Ost Asiatisch Zeitschrift*, Vol. II, No. 1, p. 387.
14. This is according to *Vaikhānasāgama*, quoted by Rao, Gopinatha: *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part II. Appendix, pp. 4-5.
15. See *Mānasāra* (edited by Acharya, P. K., Ch. LXVII V. 96 ff.)
16. See Vātsyāyana, *Kāmasūtra*, Chapter on *Citrakalā*: *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, III. 37, where the *dr̥ṣṭ* in painting is described, and III. 35 where painting is discussed. Ch. LXXXII of *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* also deals with *rasa-dr̥ṣṭ*.
17. A detailed examination of all these aspects will be taken up in the chapter on 'Theory and Technique of Classical Indian Dance'.
18. Chapter numbers relate to the Baroda edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, unless otherwise indicated.
19. See *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Chowkambha Series), Ch. XXII and XXVI.
20. See Chapter II 'Theory and Technique of Classical Indian Dance' where a detailed comparison has been made (see Table XIII).

II

THEORY AND TECHNIQUE OF CLASSICAL INDIAN DANCE

THE quest of the classical Indian arts was a pursuit of absolute form, which would suggest through its flawlessness the ultimate state of being and which would transcend the transitory, the chaotic, the subjective and the personal in man. A study of the theory and technique of the Indian arts is, therefore, not only academically rewarding but essential for both the artist and the spectator. In the theoretical treatises on the arts, the principles of form in the respective media have been classified and analyzed to enable the reader to comprehend the absolute form which is charged with spiritual significance.

Novelty of theme or content is here an irrelevant consideration. The content of art has also thus been analyzed as the potential material of abstract form. The dimension of the spirit, which is so often experienced by the sensitive and the aesthetically trained, and which has been called the twin brother of the mystic experience, is one which the ancient artist and the theoretician knew well; the tests only lay down the rules through which the perfect form in art can be suggested and, in turn, through which a state of supreme bliss, however momentary, can be experienced.

Indian dance takes the human figure as its basic instrument of expression and applies the same method of analysis and synthesis in its technique as is seen in other Indian arts. It synthesizes into itself the technique of other arts and becomes the most beautiful and significant symbol of the spiritual and artistic approach of the Hindu mind.

The theory of Indian dancing cannot thus be studied in isolation; it has always to be comprehended as a complex synthesis of the arts of literature, sculpture and music. The writer of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is fully conscious of the all-embracing quality of the art of drama (*nāṭya*, which includes dancing) when he states at the very beginning of his treatise that "this art will be enriched by the teaching of all scriptures (*śāstra*) and will give a review of all arts and crafts"¹, and further that "there is no wise maxim, no learning, no art or craft, no device, no action that is not found in drama"², and finally when he asserts: "Hence I have devised the drama in which meet all the departments of knowledge, different arts and various actions"³. There are no limitations of theme or content in this art; it depicts the exploits of gods, *asuras*, kings and ordinary human beings; its range extends to the seven divisions of the world (*sapta dvīpa*); thus, when the limitless range of human

nature with its joys and sorrows is depicted by means of representation through dramatic performance (*abhinaya*)⁴, it is called drama (*nāṭya*).

The theory and technique of Indian dance is an integral part of this conception of drama and cannot be understood without the full realization of the implications of these assertions, which have so aptly been made by Bharata. Without going into the intricate details of the historical development of dancing and the controversy whether dance emerged as an art form before drama proper or vice versa, it is sufficient to point out here that, at a very early stage of development, both these arts fused into one so that, by the time Bharata wrote his treatise, dance was very much a part of drama and at many points of contact both the arts were consciously conceived as one. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* thus is neither a treatise on drama alone, as understood by some, nor a treatise on dancing, as believed by quite a few. The technique of Indian dancing has actually to be culled and its principles selected with acute discrimination from the technique of dramaturgy prescribed by Bharata. Once this is done, dance does emerge as an independent art; it continues nevertheless to be an integral part of drama. Indeed, once the most important aspect of what we understand by dance today (what the Sanskrit dramatist understood as *āṅgikābhinaya*) is either taken out or ignored, the character of Indian drama is lost.

The principles which govern the technique of Indian dance are the same as those which govern the technique of classical Indian drama. Most theoreticians of Indian dramaturgy agree that the conventions of stage presentation are a vital part of the structure of Indian drama, and that a literary piece can be understood only as a configuration of various aspects of stage presentation. The rules which govern this stage presentation are the manifold conventions of the Sanskrit stage. Thus the principle of the two modes (*dharmī*) of presentation, *nāṭya* (the stylized) or *loka* (the realistic), the different types of *vṛtti* (style), namely *kaiśikī* (the graceful), *sāttvatī* (the grand), *ārabhaṭī* (the energetic) and *bhāratī* (the verbal); the full play of the four types of *abhinaya* (acting), namely, *āṅgika* (gestures or movement), *vācika* (the spoken word), *āhārya* (costume, make-up, stage props, etc.) and *sāttvika* (relating to state of emotion) are the broad principles which govern the structure of Indian drama and its stage presentation. It is these principles, along with other related ones such as the concept of *bāhya* (external) and *ābhyantara* (inner) acting, of *pravṛtti* (local usage), of *sāmānyābhinaya* (basic representation) and *citrābhinaya* (special representation), which govern also the technique of Indian dancing. In fact, on the Indian stage today these principles and conventions are observed in the presentation of compositions of contemporary classical dance styles rather than of contemporary Indian drama. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra* these principles have been discussed as a part of dramaturgy and histrionics and not particularly in the context of dance or drama alone⁵. The later texts, which deal with dance as an independent art, consider these principles in relation to dance only. It is not until we come

to the work of Nandikeśvara in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* that we find a full and independent treatment of dance from the point of view of the principles enumerated above. He is followed by other writers of treatises on dance. Śārṅgadeva and the authors of the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* all follow the analysis of Nandikeśvara.

The different aspects of dramaturgy as pertinent to dance are shown in the chart on page 26.

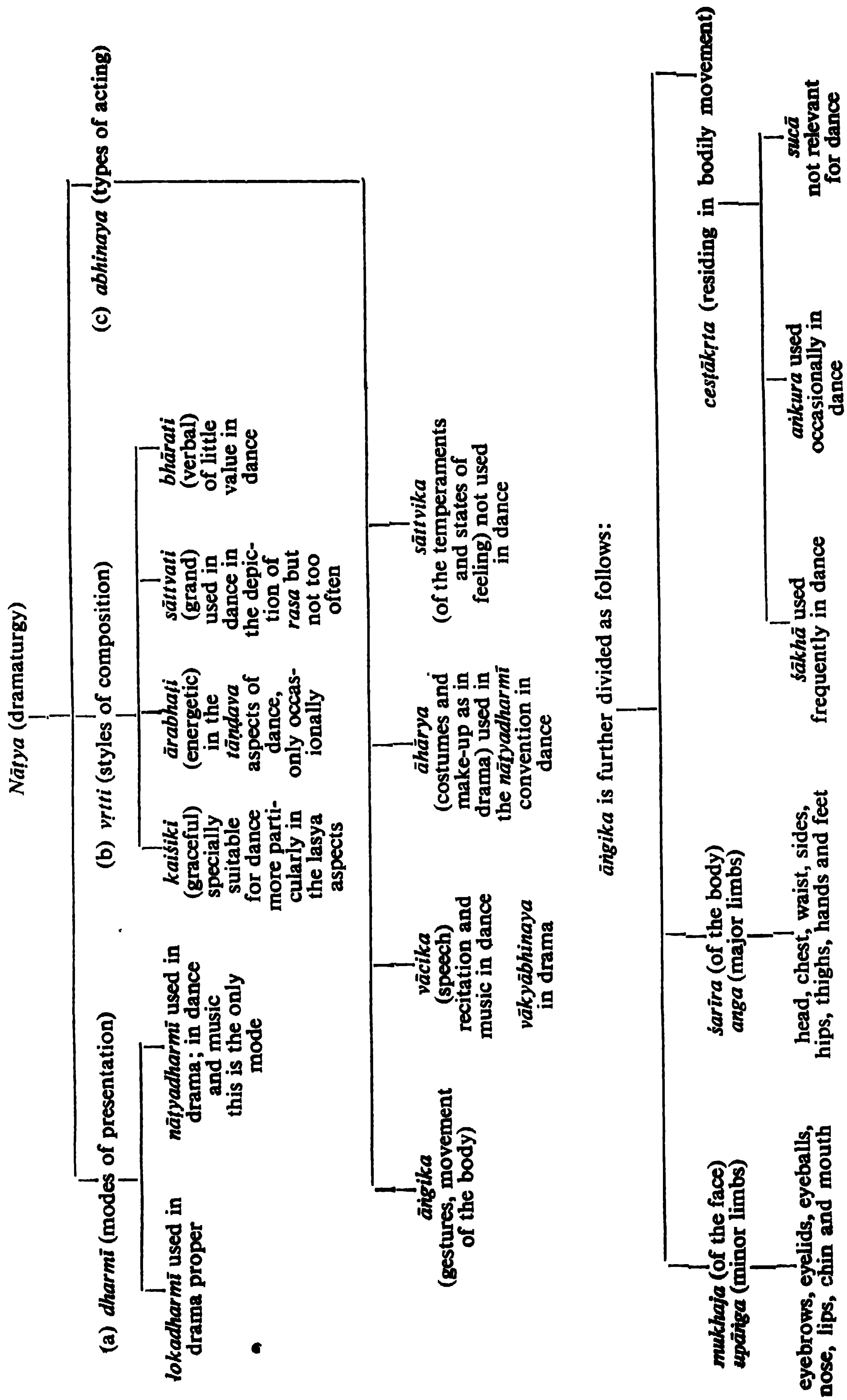
The technique of *sāmānyābhinaya* (basic representation), *bāhya* (external or irregular) and *ābhyaṅtara* (internal or regular) and *citrābhinaya* (special representation) is in turn made up by the combination of different elements of the four types of *abhinaya*. The technique of dance is evolved directly out of the diverse elements of the *dharmī*, the *vṛtti* and the four types of *abhinaya* mentioned above. Judging from the divisions which are made in later texts like the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, etc., the technique of dance, as distinct from the technique of drama proper, utilizes drama (*nāṭya*) as one of its aspects, as much as drama utilizes *nṛtta* (pure dance) and *nṛtya* (dance with mime) as an aspect of its technique.

TECHNIQUE

According to the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and other medieval treatises, dance is divided into three distinct categories, viz., *nāṭya*, *nṛtya* and *nṛtta*⁶. *Nāṭya* here corresponds to drama, *nṛtya* to mime performed to song and *nṛtta* to pure dance where the movements of the body do not express mood (*bhāva*) or meaning. These texts also characterize dancing as masculine (*tāṇḍava*) or feminine (*lāsya*). These terms also occur in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, but not explicitly in this sense. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* uses the word *tāṇḍava* as a generic term which cannot be interpreted as denoting vigorous dancing or as one performed by men alone. Chapter IV of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is entitled *Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇam* and the term *tāṇḍava* is used here for the particular dance which Taṇḍu composed by combining the *recaka* (circular movement of a limb), the *aṅgaḥāra* (sequence of movements) and the *piṇḍī* (grouping) with song and instrumental music⁷. This dance was to be performed generally for the adoration of the gods, while its gentler aspect (*sukumāra prayoga*)⁸ was to be used in the *śṛṅgāra rasa* (erotic sentiment). The word *lāsya* is used in later chapters as a synonym for *sukumāra nṛtya* and, in the description of the ten types of drama, *lāsya* is one of the forms mentioned⁹. The *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, however, clearly describe *tāṇḍava* as derived from Taṇḍu and *lāsya* as derived from Pārvatī who taught it to Ūṣā, the daughter of Vāṇa¹⁰.

From the foregoing account, it is clear that the art of dancing has clearly

Chart showing different aspects of dramaturgy as pertinent to dance



been classified into *nṛtya*, *nṛtta* and *nāṭya*, on the one hand, and *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya* or *sukumāra*, on the other. The technique of classical Indian dancing can be broken up into these constituents, which are faithfully followed to this day in all the styles of Indian dancing. The terms *nṛtta* and *abhinaya*, *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya*, are also prevalent amongst practising dancers throughout the country: the dancers speak an identical language of basic technique even though there are significant differences in stylization.

On the basis of the classification given above, we can analyze dance technique under two clear heads, *nṛtta* (pure dance) and *nṛtya* (dance with mime). It would be more appropriate to term the second as just *abhinaya*, which is also the term popularly used by practising dancers for the mime aspect of dance.

Nṛtta Technique

The *nṛtta* technique of dance as discussed in the treatises has to be understood as the laws of human movement. It is generally accepted that Indian dancing has a sculptural quality which is rare in the dance styles of the West, for its emphasis is on the pose, the stance, and not on a continuous movement in limitless space, as is the impression given by Western classical ballet. In the *nṛtta* technique, we find that a series of poses, sculptural in quality and almost static in impression, are connected by movement in a given metrical cycle. Indian dancing seeks to depict the perfect point or the moment of balance along the *brahmasūtra* (the vertical median), so much so that all movement emerges from the *sama* (the point of perfect balance, akin to the *samabhaṅga* of sculpture) and comes back to this. It is movement of the human form in direct relation to the pull of gravity that Indian dance conceives, which explains its deliberate avoidance, for the most part, of terrific leaps and gliding movements in the air so characteristic of the Western ballet. In the latter, a position in space where the human form is apparently free from gravity, is emphasized. It is the stages of movement which are depicted in the composition of dance: it strives thus to eliminate space by covering as much of it as possible, whether it is floor-space or space in the air. Space is enveloped in figures of movement in leaps and in intricate floor choreography. The Western dancer is reaching out into space in order to arrest a moment of perfect movement: he strives for spacelessness at a point in time. The Indian dancer's preoccupation is not so much with space as with time, and the dancer is constantly trying to achieve the perfect pose which will convey a sense of timelessness. We find that, except in certain aspects of *Kathākali* and *Mayurabhaṅja*, in none of the other classical Indian dance styles are there any large leaps evident, nor have they been discussed in the treatises. Bharata could have easily analyzed and discussed the possibilities of movement in space, where both hands and feet lose contact with the ground, but he does not do so in any one of the 108 *karaṇas* or the thirty-two *aṅgaḥāras*, which he discusses in great detail. The system of movement composition

has thus to be understood in the light of this difference in approach and within this broad framework. As much as Indian drama deliberately and purposely avoided certain features of life for depiction, so also Indian dance purposely and with deliberate design emphasized only certain types of movement. It explored the fullest possibilities of movement but within the limitations which it consciously imposed on itself as discipline.

The Indian dancer, like the Indian sculptor, does not lay much emphasis on the muscles of the human body but takes the joints and the fundamental bone-structure as its basis. It enables the dancer to suggest an abstract form without drawing attention to individual features of the muscles. In so far as the whole process of dancing was a *yoga*, this was inevitable, for the muscles could not suggest absolute form or create abstract geometrical patterns. The different parts of the body and their respective movements have been analyzed with this basic point of view. The knee, hip and shoulder joints constitute the key points from which movement originates in the lower and upper limbs: the neck joint is the pivot joint responsible for the movements of the head. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* gives us two types of classification of movements. There is, first, the analysis of different parts of the human body from the point of view of the possibility of movement; thus, in Chapters VIII and IX, it analyzes in great detail the movements of major and minor limbs. In Chapters XII, XIII and IV, there is a discussion on the combinations of these primary movements such as *cārī*, *maṇḍala*, *karāṇa*, *aṅgahāra*, etc. According to this classification, the head, hands, breast, sides (waist), hips and feet constitute the major limbs (*aṅga*), and eyes, eyebrows, nose, lips, chin, mouth, etc., constitute the minor limbs (*upāṅga*)¹¹: Bharata uses the words *upāṅga* and *pratyāṅga* practically as synonyms, but does not classify the neck, arms, abdomen, shanks and knees in either category; texts like the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*¹² and the *Saṅgītaratnākara* classify these as *pratyāṅga*. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* does not also analyze movement of the knee (*jānu*), the ankles (*gulpha*) and the toes of the feet which is done by other texts. It does mention wrist movements but does not devote a separate section to them. An attempt is made below at a comparative study of the movements of these major limbs. The hands (*hastā*) are the only parts of the body the uses of which for *nṛtta* and *abhinaya* are separately treated. In the case of other parts of the body, the movement of the particular part has been described first, and this is followed by its *vinīyoga* (usage), which constitutes a part of the *abhinaya* technique. This is, however, more true of the movements of the minor limbs, specially of facial (*mukhaja*) ones like those of the eyebrow, eyeball, eyelid, chin, nose, lips, etc. The thighs, waist, side and chest have been primarily discussed from the point of view of *nṛtta*.

On the basis of these movements of the separate parts of the human body, Bharata discusses and analyzes the fundamental units of movement. The *cārī* is the most important single unit of movement in the *nṛtta* technique as enunciated

by Bharata. A movement of the lower part of the body consequent upon a movement of one foot from the *sama* position of the feet is termed a *pāda cārī*. Bharata devotes one chapter to this and says that "whatever has been prescribed as *nāṭya* (histrionic representation) is included in the *cārī* and no part of it can take place without the same."¹³ Since the *cārī* is also a part of a system of exercise, its various forms are related to one another and cannot be considered in isolation. The *cārī* results from movement with one foot; movements of both the feet produce a *karaṇa*: (this *karaṇa* is, however, different from the *karaṇa* of Chapter IV, which is described as a complete unit of movement of all the limbs.¹⁴) Three *karaṇas* in combination form a *khaṇḍa* and three or four *khaṇḍas* constitute a *maṇḍala*¹⁵. The *maṇḍala* is also different from the two types of *maṇḍala* which arise out of the *cārī*.¹⁶ In Chapter X, thirty-two kinds of *cārī* are defined; of these sixteen are termed *bhaumī* (earthly) and the other sixteen are called *ākāśikī* (aerial). The difference between the two groups is really one of degree and frequency of movement rather than of quality. The first type of *cārī* has some seven static positions of the shank, and the second type indicates movement and utilizes both the feet, even though the main movement involves only one leg or one foot. In Tables XVII and XVIII an attempt has been made to describe these *cārīs* and relate them to different parts of the body.

Next in importance to the *cārī* is the unit of movement called the *karaṇa* discussed in detail in Chapter IV of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, where the 108 types of *karaṇa* are described. It is necessary to point out, in this context, that it is not possible to understand Chapter IV or the descriptions of the *karaṇa* without knowing the movements of the separate parts of the body like the feet, thighs, waist, and the varieties of *nṛtta hasta*, all of which are discussed later, particularly in Chapters VII, IX, X and XI. In our analysis of the *karaṇas*, the relationship of these units of movement to the different parts of the body has been worked out. According to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, two *karaṇas* constitute a *mātrkā*; two or three of these in turn constitute an *aṅgaḥāra*. Bharata also says that three *karaṇas* will constitute a *kalāpaka*, four *karaṇas*, a *śaṇḍaka*, and five *karaṇas*, a *saṅghātaka*.¹⁷ These are no more than terms to us, but it is clear that any of them can combine to form an *aṅgaḥāra*, which is a sequence rather than a unit of movement. Parallel to this composition of movement is the combination of the *cārīs* to form *maṇḍalas*, which are described in Chapter XI, where ten aerial *maṇḍalas* and eight earthly *maṇḍalas*¹⁸ have been described. The eight earthly *maṇḍalas* share their names with the *cārīs* of the same type (i.e., earthly). Of the ten aerial ones four share their names with the *cārīs*; the other six are derived from *cārīs* but they share their names with the *karaṇas*. Most of the *karaṇas* also derive their names and their movement from the *cārīs* and this has been pointed out in the detailed discussion of the individual *karaṇas*. The *maṇḍala* and the *aṅgaḥāra*, being series of movements of varying degrees of complexity, can only be analyzed in actual movement demonstration and no attempt has been made to tabulate them.

Apart from the *cārī*, *karaṇa*, *maṇḍala* and *aṅgahāra*, the other important types of movement in the *nṛtta* technique are the movements and compositions indicated by the technical terms *recaka*, *bhramarī* and *utplavana*, and the group composition indicated by the term *piṇḍibandha*. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* only defines the *recaka* and the *piṇḍibandha*, though the *bhramarī* (spiral movement) and the *utplavana* (jump) are mentioned in the context of the *karaṇa*. The last two, namely the *bhramarī* and the *utplavana*, have been discussed in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. Nandikeśvara mentions five types of *utplavana*, namely the *alaga*, *kartarī*, *aśva*, *moṭita*, *kṛpālaga*; and seven types of *bhramarī*, viz., *utpluta*, *cakra*, *garuḍa*, *ekapāda kuñcita*, *ākāśa*, and *aṅga*¹⁹. The *Abhinayadarpaṇa* also enumerates eight types of *cārī* which have nothing in common with the *cārī* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and which belong more to the class of movement termed *gati* by Bharata.

Both the *bhramarī* of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and the *recaka* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* belong to a class of circular movement and denote turning of one part of the body or the whole body around an axis, which would be termed as spinning or a pirouette (or *cakkar* as in contemporary *Kathak* terminology). The *Nāṭyaśāstra* describes *recaka* (rotation) of the *pāda* (feet), *kaṭi* (waist), *hasta* (hand) and *grīvā* (neck). The waist and the neck are capable of complete circular movement and the feet and the hands can achieve only a restricted movement within the limitation of the wrist and the ankle joint, but what Bharata means by *pāda* and *hasta recaka* is the complete circular movement of the whole leg or arm, and this is stated clearly in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*²⁰. The frequent reference to the *recaka* in literature, in the description of the *karaṇas* and in the description of the individual movements of the different parts of the body tells us of the great popularity of spiral and spinning movements in the dance of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* tradition. They seem to have enjoyed the same popularity until the time of Rājasekhara.

The most important term in the sphere of dance composition found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is the *piṇḍibandha*.²¹ Four varieties of *piṇḍī* are mentioned: *piṇḍī*, *śṛṅghalikā*, *latābandha*, and *bhedyaka*. The first stands for a collective dance, and the word *piṇḍī* suggests a *gulma* (cluster). The entry of the main dancer was, perhaps, followed by that of a group of dancers: the nature of the formation of the group has not been described by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, but the name suggests a composition where a closed cluster would be made by the dancers. Another type of composition is the *śṛṅghalā*, where a chain formation is suggested and the partners hold hands: *latābandha* suggests a dance composition where the dancers put their arms around each other. In the *bhedyaka* dancers break away from the group and perform individual movements. All these are employed in the beginning of a play, and are related to *āsārīta* of various kinds. The *piṇḍibandha* is thus applied in the first *āsārīta* (which is the shortest); the *śṛṅghalā* is employed at the transition of tempo, the *latābandha* in the middle *āsārīta* and the *bhedyaka*

in the longest²². An elaborate system of *nṛtta* technique is thus laid down and the enumeration above covers most of Bharata's discussion of this technique.

Nṛtya or *Abhinaya*

The miming aspect of *nāṭya* termed *āṅgikābhinaya* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is also an integral part of dancing; the principles which govern the technique of *āṅgikābhinaya* in *nāṭya* also govern the technique of *nṛtya* or what is termed as just *abhinaya* in dancing.

The dancer employs the body and its limbs for expression; the *vācikābhinaya* of *nāṭya*, where the actors themselves use speech, is replaced by the music which accompanies the dance. In the *nṛtta* portion, the musical accompaniment utilizes melody in a given *tāla* (metrical cycle) and the improvisations on the basic *tāla* are interpreted through movement. In the *abhinaya* portion the musical accompaniment mostly consists of poetry, lyrical or narrative, set to music and rhythm. It is this poetry which is interpreted by the dancer: the interpretation (specially in the solo dancing of all the classical styles) comprises a portrayal of the various *sañcārī bhāvas* of the particular *sthāyī bhāva*. This is achieved through a series of variations of the *āṅgikābhinaya*, each word of the poetry being interpreted in as many different ways as possible. The principle of *nāṭyadharmī* is strictly followed during the portrayal: here the one dancer assumes different roles, without change of dress or costume. Bharata, while citing examples of *nāṭyadharmī*, tells us that, if the same actor assumes a different role (in the same play) then it is *nāṭyadharmī*²³. He adds further that in any play, where dance-gestures are employed, there is a predominance of graceful gesticulation, which is the sphere of *nāṭyadharmī*. The whole sphere of dance belongs, indeed, to the *nāṭyadharmī* mode of presentation, for the principle of imitation is nowhere followed and it is, instead, the principle of suggestion which the dancer is guided by: no attempt is made to present things as they are, and artistic stylization is implicit in the attempt to show, through gesture, the entire range of human emotion and experience. The stylization is also seen in the depiction of those emotions which would ordinarily be the sphere of *sāttvikābhinaya* in the drama proper; in the dance *abhinaya*, even tears, etc., have to be shown through gesticulation in *nāṭyadharmī*. The three types of gesticulation seen in the *abhinaya* of drama, are the *sūcā*, the *śākhā*, and the *aṅkura*; of these the *śākhā* type of *āṅgikābhinaya* belongs most to the sphere of dancing, for here the theme is represented through the use of the head, face, thighs, feet, hands, etc.²⁴. The *vṛtti* most suitable for the dance is the *kaiśikī*; it is witnessed both in the *nṛtta* and the *nṛtya* portions. Bharata tells us that this *vṛtti* is particularly interesting on account of the dancing and singing which are used for its representation²⁵. In so far as every *vṛtti* has its corresponding *rasa*, they are all witnessed in dancing, specially in the narrative themes and presentation of the sentiments in a dance style like the *Kathākali*.

The *nṛtya* or *abhinaya* portion utilizes for the most part the gesture of the

hands (*hastābhinaya*) and movements of the face (*mukhajābhinaya*), specially the *dr̥ṣṭi*, i.e., the movement of the eyes, eyebrows, eyeballs, etc. The movements of the head and *vakṣa* (chest) are also important, but not to the same degree. Naturally, the movements of the feet cannot be ignored but they are of secondary importance. The hands are of supreme importance in *abhinaya*. Their movements have been grouped under those of the single hand and those of the combined hands (*asamyuta* and *saṃyuta*). The fingers and the hands have endless possibilities of movement, and most of them have been explored: the hand gestures form a fairly complete alphabet for a language. The hand movements are indeed the focal point around which everything else revolves. It is with this in view that Nandikeśara and the writers after him lay down the famous dictum that “where the hand goes, the eyes follow: where the eye goes, the *bhāva* (mood) follows and where the mind goes, there arises the *rasa*²⁶ (sentiment)”. The uses of the hands and their movements have not been discussed in the present study. All the primary hand movements, whether of one hand or of both, can be used purely imitatively, or they can be used suggestively; they can be used to represent things, places and human beings, or to convey ideas and emotions; or they can be used as symbols. Through hand gesticulation, thus, the universe can be comprehended; through these hands the seven spheres, the oceans, rivers, planets, human beings, and animals can all be represented. These hand gestures along with the movements of the eyes and eyeballs are employed in the *samānyābhinaya* (basic representation) and in the *citrābhinaya* (special representation).

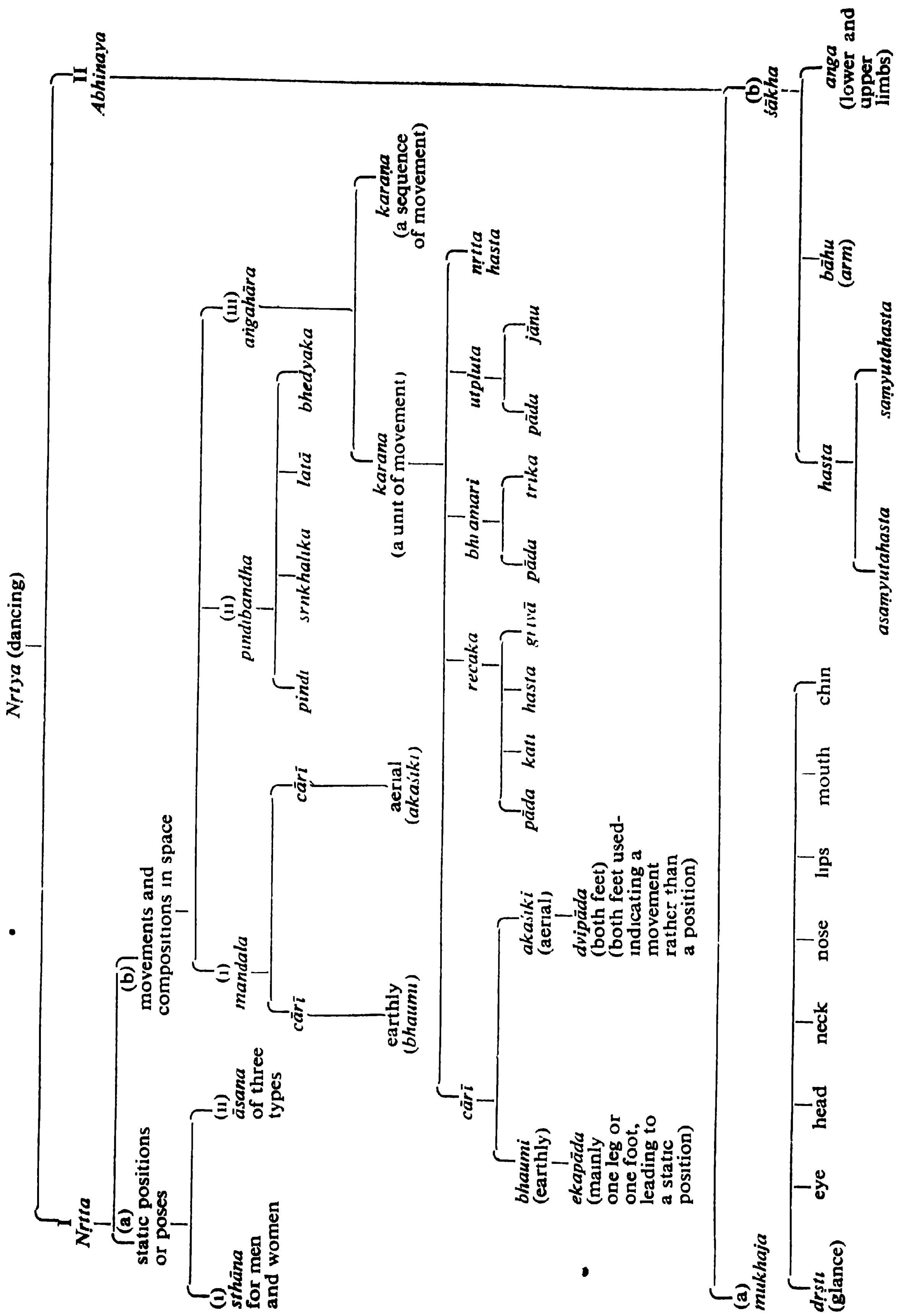
The movements of the different parts of the face and the head, specially eye movements, are almost as important as the *hastā* in the *abhinaya* technique of dance; each glance and each movement of the eyeball and eyebrow is related to a corresponding *vyabhicārī bhāva*, a *sthāyī bhāva* and a *rasa*. In the tables an attempt has been made to show the systematic relationship between these movements and the corresponding *rasa*.

The discussion above will make it clear that the technique of the Indian dance is as complex in nature as the technique of any other art in India and that it grows from the smallest unit of movement into a composite whole by a series of laws applied systematically to evoke a particular state of mind or *rasa*. This is as true of the *nṛtta* as of the *abhinaya* technique. The chart on page 33 will give an idea of the inter-relationship and derivations of the different aspects of *nṛtta* and *abhinaya*.

TEXTS

Texts or manuals on the theory and technique of dancing are innumerable and it is impossible to deal with all of them. Most of them are available only in

Chart showing inter-relationship and derivations of *nr̥tta* and *abhinaya*



manuscript form, and, except for a few, they have not been edited critically, and hardly has any been analyzed from the point of view of the technique of dancing as distinguished from the theory of *nāṭya* (drama proper) and *saṅgīta*. We have to draw our material, therefore, from such portions of these texts as deal with *nṛtya* or *nṛtta*, whether in the context of *nāṭya* (drama), *saṅgīta* (music), *citrakalā* (painting) or *śilpa* (sculpture).

The history of the theoretical literature on Indian dancing begins with the *Naṭasūtras* referred to by Pāṇini. Śilālin and Kṛṣāśva were the authors of these *sūtras*. Even though we are unable to determine definitely the nature of these works, it is clear that these works contained the first codification of the technique of dance and drama. It can also be fairly definitely established that these *sūtras* contained sets of rules for performing actors, dancers and pantomimists.

The text of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is the earliest extant text on dramaturgy and histrionics in which the techniques of *nṛtta* (dance) and *nṛtya* (mime) have been discussed in detail. The compiler of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* quotes Śiva as his authority, and starts his treatise with a salutation to both Pitāmaha Brahmā and Maheśvara (Śiva); he states that he is going to explain the canons of drama (*nāṭyaśāstra*) as uttered by Bharata²⁸. The hundred sons of Bharata mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* who studied the *nāṭyaveda*²⁹ have been identified by scholars as the predecessors and contemporaries of Bharata. The compiler of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* seems to have borrowed freely from earlier writers and often mentions their works. The names of Kohala, Dattila (Dhūrtila), Śāṇḍilya, Vātsyā, Śālikarṇa (Śātakarṇa or Śātakarṇi), Bādarāyaṇa, Nakhakuṭṭa and Āsmakuṭṭa are mentioned and, even though their works are not extant today, they are known to be writers on the art of histrionics and dramaturgy. Bharata, in Chapter XXXVI, says that all the topics which have not been discussed by him will be discussed by Kohala later³⁰. Bharata also mentions the names of ṛṣis other than Śilālin and Kṛṣāśva. From the point of view of the *nṛtya* technique the works of Pravara and Kaśyapa are considered to be the most significant. Unfortunately, most of these works are lost and the main points of their treatises can only be recreated through the works of other authors who quote from them. Kaśyapa is known to have written a significant treatise on the relationship of *rāga* and *rasa*. The work of Kohala, mentioned by Bharata, is also lost to us, and the several manuscripts going by that name seem to be much later compilations³¹. The great contribution of Kohala seems to be his discussion of the *uparūpakas*³², the minor dramatic varieties which seem to have developed after Bharata. The *uparūpaka* was the dance-drama or music-drama which was distinct from the major dramatic form called the *rūpaka* and the *nāṭaka* proper.

Dattila (Dhūrtila of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*) is quoted by Abhinavagupta, and from these quotations it appears that he was a writer on histrionics and music. Dattila

seems to have been a prolific writer, judged from the number of times the *Abhinavabhāratī* mentions him in the commentary on the chapter on music. Dattila seems to have enjoyed the reputation of an acknowledged authority.

Sāgaranandin's *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* quotes from Śātakarṇi and Aśma-kuṭṭa and Bādarāyaṇa: and Viśvanātha quotes from Nakhakuṭṭa leading to the conclusion that they were all authors of works on dramaturgy and, perhaps, also histrionics. Other ancient and medieval writers whose works do not seem to have come down to us, but who have been quoted or mentioned by Abhinavagupta, Śāradātanaya, (the writer of the *Bhāvaprakāśa*) and Sāgaranandin (the writer of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇa*) are Nandī³³, Tumburi, Viśākhila³⁴ and Cārāyaṇa³⁵, and Sadāśiva³⁶, Padmabhū³⁷, Drauhīṇi³⁸, Vyāsa, Ānjaneya Kātyāyana⁴⁰, Rāhula⁴¹, Garga and Śakaligarbha⁴¹, and Ghaṇṭaka and Harṣa, the writer of *Vārtika*⁴², Māṭṛgupta, Subandhu and many more. (All these writers with the exception of Māṭṛgupta are but names to us today.) With King Māṭṛgupta of Kashmir starts a line of commentators on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* whose works are valuable aids for the study of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. A commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and a dance treatise, is attributed to King Māṭṛgupta. King Jayapīḍa of Kashmir is known to have married a dancer, and asked his minister Udbhaṭa to write a commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Following Udbhaṭa many writers wrote commentaries and *upākhyānas* on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa, Śrīsaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and Bhaṭṭa Tauta may be mentioned in the context of the particular theories of aesthetics, but no one's work is as monumental or significant from the point of view of *nāṭya* and *nṛtya* as Abhinavagupta's. The commentary of Abhinavagupta, in spite of all its obscurities, is the richest and most valuable aid for an understanding of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Other works on dramaturgy which have any bearing on histrionics and dancing are Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Sāgaranandin's *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*, Rāmacandra's *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* and Śāradātanaya's *Bhāvaprakāśa* and, of course, the *Daśarūpa* of Dhanañjaya and the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha, both of whom discuss drama proper, rather than the techniques of histrionics and dancing.

The most important works from the point of view of dancing are the *Bharatabhāṣya* of Nānyadeva, King of Mithilā, and the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* of Nandikeśvara with all the different recensions and versions. The latter text is by far the most complete text on dance exclusively, which constitutes a discussion of the dance proper (*nṛtta*) and acting (*nṛtya* and *abhinaya*)⁴³. *Bharatārṇava*, the other work attributed to Nandikeśvara, also deals with *abhinaya* and *nṛtya*. The next authoritative discussion on dance is contained in the seventh chapter of the *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva.

Textual literature on dance is found practically in every province of India

and contemporary styles of classical dancing follow particular texts of the region. It is worthwhile to remember that there exists a substantial gap between the writing of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and other important texts on dance. Even if the upper limit of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* is taken to be the sixth or seventh century, we still have a gap of nearly 400 years between the first and the next authoritative texts on dance. After the appearance of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, and the *Śaṅgītaratnākara*, we have a rich and sizable collection of texts and manuals on dance from all parts of India. All this material, however, belongs to a historical period which is strictly not within the purview of this study. Any historical re-construction of dance styles prevalent during the medieval period, that is from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries, would necessarily call for correlation between these texts on the one hand and material available in historical chronicles and regional literatures on the other. However, even a superficial glance at these texts convinces us of an extensive tradition of dance, drama and music in different parts of India.

Following the monumental work of Śārṅgadeva in the *Śaṅgītaratnākara* and his comprehensive treatment of dance in the *nr̥tyādhyāya*, we find Jayasena's (1253 c.) important work entitled *Nr̥ttaratnāvalī*. Vācānacārya Sudhākalaśa's work the *Śaṅgītopaniṣat Sāroddhāra* (1350 A.D.) is a significant contribution of the Jaina tradition to the literature of music and dance. He devotes two chapters to dance and we obtain some very interesting insights into dance technique and its development. There are significant points of departure from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in both the *Śaṅgītaratnākara* and in Sudhākalaśa's work specially in the treatment of the *karāṇas*. From Orissa we have the *Abhinayacandrikā* (XII-XIII ce.) by Maheśvara Mahāpātra: later we have the *Śaṅgītaḍāmodara* by Raghunātha (XVII c.) and *Śaṅgītanārayaṇa* by Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva of Khemundi from the same region. From Assam we have the *Hastamuktāvalī* by Śubhaṅkara (1650 A.D.) which has come down in Assamese, Newari and Bengali recensions. Assam and Bengal follow the treatise closely: indeed the Ojāpallī dance drama of Assam bases its hand gesture system on the *Hastamuktāvalī*⁴⁴. From the same region we have two other important texts on dance, namely *Śaṅgītaḍāmodara* attributed also to Śubhaṅkar and another on rhythm entitled *Vādyapradīpa*. All these texts can be dated about the sixteenth or seventeenth century. From Rajasthan we have the important work *Nr̥tyaratnakośa* by Kumbhakarṇa (1443-1468) dealing with the dance, as also the *Śaṅgītarāja* by the same author: from Uttar Pradesh we have the *Nr̥tyādhyāya* in *Śaṅgītamallikā* of Mohammad Shah (XVI-XVII cc.) which throws interesting light on the development of Kathak. Commentaries on the *Śaṅgītaratnākara* continued to be written in all parts of India and Siṃhabhūpāla's and Kallinātha's commentaries are as important for an understanding of the *Śaṅgītaratnākara* as Abhinavagupta's commentary is for the understanding of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

South Indian texts which have found publication are the *Bālarāmabharata*

of Mahārajā Bāla Rāma Varmā of Kerala (18th c.) and *Nṛtyādhyāya* of the *San-gītasārāmṛta* of the Tanjore Marhatta Tulaja. The *Nṛtyādhyāya* of the *San-gīta-makaranda* by Veda of the court of Sāhāji Rājā (1640 A.D.) has been published serially in the Journal of the Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Library⁴⁵ edited by Vāsudeva Śāstri; the first volume of the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*, a compilation in Marathi script of various texts on the *nāṭya* made by one Utake Govindācārya has been published in the Madras Government Oriental Series⁴⁶. A text of *Bharatārṇava* by Nandikeśvara has also been published in the Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Series. Alain Daienlou has published another text entitled *Le Gītālaṁkāra* which, he asserts, is earlier than the *Nāṭyaśāstra*: however, there is still a great controversy about its date.

A great deal of literature on dance exists only in manuscript form and the critically edited editions of *Bharatasenāpatya*, Kumāragiri's *Vasantarājiva*, Vimbhupāla's *San-gītacintāmaṇi* and Lakṣminārāyaṇa's *San-gītasūryodaya* and the commentaries on the *Silappadikāram*⁴⁷ would greatly enrich the theoretical literature on dance. Dr. V. Raghavan has done a valuable task of going through most of these texts and bringing them to the modern reading public,⁴⁸ but there is still a great deal which remains to be done. A close relationship exists between the techniques of dancing discussed here and the technique of movement discussed in the *Śilpaśāstras* and the treatises on painting: the *Agni Purāṇa* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* discuss this relationship and borrow liberally from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in their discussion.

For a comparative study of the technique of dancing, as laid down in these manuals, only a few of the published texts have been taken into consideration.

The tables that follow are based on the two principles of *nṛtta* and *abhinaya*; first, an attempt has been made to compare the primary movements of the *aṅgas* and the *upāṅgas* in each of these treatises; secondly, the primary movements have been correlated to their uses (*vinīyoga*) in *abhinaya*. Where ever it has been possible to correlate the *vinīyoga* to the *sañcārī* and the *sthāyī bhāvas* (the transitory and the dominant states) and the *rasa* (sentiment), it has also been done. The main sources of comparison in the *nṛtta* technique have been the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the two versions of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, the seventh chapter of the *San-gītaratnākara*, the *Nṛtyādhyāya* of Veda's *San-gītamakaranda* (as edited by Vāsudeva Śāstri), the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* and the *Balārāmabharata*:⁴⁹ in the treatment of the *hastas*, the *Hastalakṣanadīpikā*⁵⁰, the *Hastamuktāvalī* and the iconographical texts have also been considered.

For *abhinaya* and the uses (*vinīyoga*) of the primary movements, all these texts have been taken into account, but the most profitable sources of analysis are the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*; thus a detailed analysis of only these two texts has been made.

Dr̥ṣṭi (glances)

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* describes thirty-six different types of glances (*dr̥ṣṭi*) excluding the eight additional looks (*darśana*) described in the context of the muscular movements of the eyeballs. Of these thirty-six, eight refer to the *rasa* (sentiments), another eight to the *sthāyī bhāva* (the dominant states): the names of the first sixteen can practically be identified with the names of the *rasa*, and the *sthāyī bhāva*; the names of the *vyabhicārī dr̥ṣṭis* correspond closely to the names of the *vyabhicārī bhāva* and are sometimes identical.

The first sixteen glances (*dr̥ṣṭi*) are described in great detail in terms of the muscular movements of the eyeballs, eyelids and the eyebrows and, occasionally, the colour of the eyes. Wherever the movements of the eyeballs, eyelids and the eyebrows have not been mentioned in technical terms, the descriptions indicate the precise movement. The twenty glances of the *vyabhicārī bhāvas* (transitory states) are more difficult to analyze in terms of the movements of the eyebrows, eyelids and eyeballs. An attempt has been made, therefore, to analyze only the first sixteen and their relationship to each other and to the different parts of the eye and not the last twenty. All the thirty-six glances have to be understood, nevertheless, in the context of the discussion on the representation of *vibhāva* and *anubhāva* contained in Chapter VII of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

The *Saṅgitaratnākara*⁵¹, the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*⁵², the *Bālarāmabharata*,⁵³ Veda's *Saṅgitamakaraṇḍa* all follow closely the classification of the *dr̥ṣṭis* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The text used by Coomaraswamy in the *Mirror of Gesture*⁵⁴ enumerates forty-four glances, of which some like the *sāci dr̥ṣṭi* are described by Bharata; the others are more or less in accordance with the *vyabhicārī dr̥ṣṭis* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* with a few omissions and a few additions, such as the *iṅgita*, *dūra*, etc.⁵⁵ The twenty glances belonging to the *vyabhicārī bhāva* can be grouped according to their respective *sthāyī bhāva*, but since they are used to represent subtle shades of emotion and sentiment, it is best not to regroup them in terms of the *sthāyī bhāva*. Very often in the description of the *dr̥ṣṭis* of the *rasa* and the *sthāyī bhāva* the names of the *vyabhicārī dr̥ṣṭis* are frequently used by Bharata; thus *ākekarā* and *trastā vibhrāntā* are frequently used to represent *sthāyī bhāva*.

The *dr̥ṣṭis* inclusive of the movement of the eyeballs, the iris and the pupil of the eye, the eyelids, and the eyebrows form an important part of the *abhinaya* technique of Indian dance and drama, and in fact the *āṅgikābhinaya* in dancing (where speech is not used) uses for its expression most effectively the muscles of the eye and different parts of the face. The *mukhajābhinaya* has been given a very significant role in the histrionic technique of Indian dance and drama. *Kathākali* preserves to a very large extent the principles laid down by Bharata, and the accuracy of expression achieved by the use of face muscles, and movements of the different parts of the eye is impressive.

Table I and Table II show the different types of glances (*dr̥ṣṭi*) and movements of the eyeballs, eyelids and eyebrows, as also the movements of the different parts of the face in relation to a certain *rasa* or *sthāyī bhāva*. An accurate use of these movements would necessarily result in an expression of the face which would represent the particular *sthāyī bhāva* or *rasa*. The movements of the major limbs (*aṅga*) can also be related to the *rasa* but the correspondence cannot be as accurate as in the case of the face and eye movements, and Bharata does not explicitly relate them to the *rasa* or the *sthāyī bhāva* either. (Tables on pages 40-43).

Tāra & Darśana (eyeball)

The movements of the eyeballs have been treated in the texts from two points of view: there are first the eyeball movements without reference to the object of perception which suggest the positions of the eyeball in different parts of the eye, and then there is the classification of the eyeball movements according to the object of perception. Both these are closely connected, and the latter necessarily uses the former except in movements like the *calana*, *samudvṛtta* and the *bhramana* where the eyeball movements are used to express states and sentiments. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* enumerates nine movements of the first type and eight of the second: the *Śaṅgītaratnākara*, the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* and the *Bālarāmabharata* follow this listing. The *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and the *Mirror of Gesture* do not mention the eyeball movements, but only mention the second variety under *dr̥ṣṭis*: seven out of the eight mentioned have a great deal in common with the *darśana* of the *Śaṅgītaratnākara* and the additional *dr̥ṣṭis* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, but the last movement is completely different in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and the *Mirror of Gesture*. The *Mirror of Gesture* mentions forty-four other glances on the basis of another text⁵⁸, but when this list is carefully examined, one finds that it is really a mixture of the *rasa dr̥ṣṭis* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the eyeball movements discussed above and some eyelid movements. Of the forty-four, the following are common to those mentioned by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*: *sama*, *pravilokita*, *ālokita*, *sācī*, *vilokita*, *avalokita*, *anuvṛtta* and *militā*.

Śṛṅgārā, *adbhuta*, *karuṇa*, *bhayānaka*, *vīra*, *raudra* relate to *rasa dr̥ṣṭis* and most of the others relate to the *vyabhicārī bhāva dr̥ṣṭis*.

The eyeball movements and the *darśana* can also be regrouped according to the direction of the movement of the eyeball. The *sācī*, the *pralokita*, the *vivartana* (or *kaṭākṣa*) belong to one category where the pupil moves either to one side, or moves from side to side.

The movements of the eyeballs in the up-down direction form another group; *samudvṛtta*, *sampraveśana*, *ullokita* belong to this category where the pupil is taken either to the top or bottom of the eye.

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The circular movements of the eyeball, such as the *bhramana* form the third

TABLE I

Rasa and *Sthāyi Bhāva Dr̥ṣṭi*⁵⁶

(1) <i>Rasa</i>	(2) <i>Rasa Dr̥ṣṭi</i>	(3) <i>Sthāyi Bhāva Dr̥ṣṭi</i>	(4) <i>Tārā</i> (pupil)	(5) <i>Paṭa</i> (eyelid)	(6) <i>Bhrū</i> (eyebrow)	(7) <i>Darśana</i> (look)
1. <i>Śṛṅgāra</i> (<i>Rati</i>)	<i>Kāntā</i>	<i>Snigdhā</i>	<i>Vivartana</i> <i>Prākṛta</i>	<i>Sama</i>	<i>Utkṣepa</i> and <i>Sahaja</i>	<i>Kaṭākṣa</i>
2. <i>Bhayānaka</i>	<i>Bhayānakā</i>	<i>Bhayānakā</i>	<i>Samudvṛtta</i> <i>Kampita</i> —also <i>Niṣkrama</i> and <i>Calana</i>	<i>Vivartita</i> <i>Sphūrita</i>		<i>Niṣkrānta-madhyā dr̥ṣṭi</i> (a terrified still glance)
3. <i>Hāsya</i>	<i>Hāsya</i>	<i>Hṛṣṭā</i>	<i>Praveśana</i> ”	<i>Prasṛta</i> <i>Kuñcita</i>	<i>Kuñcita</i>	
4. <i>Karuṇa</i> (<i>Śoka</i>)	<i>Karuṇā</i>	<i>Dīnā</i>	<i>Pāta</i> <i>Pāta</i>	<i>Pihita</i> <i>Nimeṣa</i>		Gaze at the tip of the nose, and very slow movement of the pupil
5. <i>Adbhuta</i> (<i>Vismaya</i>)	<i>Adbhutā</i>	<i>Vismitā</i>	<i>Samudvṛtta</i> or <i>Niṣkrama</i> ”	<i>Kuñcita</i> <i>Prasṛta</i>	<i>Sahaja</i>	<i>Vilokita</i> or <i>Vismita</i>

6. <i>Raudra</i> (<i>Krodha</i>)	<i>Raudri</i>	<i>Kruddhā</i>	<i>Prākṛta</i> or <i>Bhramaṇa</i> <i>Samudvṛtta Bhramaṇa</i> and <i>Valana</i> move- ments may also be used in certain contexts.	<i>Unmeṣa</i>	<i>Bhrukuṭī</i>	Eyes are flushed
7. <i>Vīra</i> (<i>Utsāha</i>)	<i>Vīrā</i>		<i>Samudvṛtta</i> or <i>Prākṛta</i>	<i>Prasṛta</i>	<i>Utkṣepa</i>	Glowing and bright look
		<i>Drptā</i>	<i>Sama tāṛā</i>		<i>Sahaja</i>	<i>Utphulla dṛṣṭi</i>
8. <i>Bibhatsa</i> <i>Jugupsā</i>	<i>Bibhatsā</i> <i>Jugupsitā</i>		<i>Praveśana</i>	<i>Kuñcita</i>	<i>Pāta</i>	<i>Militā dṛṣṭi</i> closing and turning away from the object
9. <i>Śānta</i> ⁵⁶			<i>Ākekarā (sañcārī</i> <i>bhāva dṛṣṭi)</i>	<i>Nimeṣa</i>	<i>Sahaja</i>	

TABLE II
Mukhajābhinaya

(1) ⁵⁷ <i>Rasa</i>	(2) <i>Nāsā</i> (nose)	(3) <i>Gaṇḍa</i> (cheeks)	(4) <i>Adhara</i> (lips)	(5) <i>Cibuka</i> (chin)	(6) <i>Mukha</i> (mouth)	(7) <i>Mukha Rāga</i> (colour of face)
1. <i>Śṛṅgāra</i>	<i>Socchvāsā</i>	<i>Phulla</i> or <i>Sama</i>	<i>Visarga</i> or <i>Samudga</i>	<i>Sama</i> or <i>Khaṇḍana</i>	<i>Udvāhi</i> or <i>Bhugna</i> or <i>Vivṛta</i>	<i>Prasanna</i> or <i>Svābhāvika</i>
2. <i>Bhayānaka</i>	<i>Vikṛṣṭā</i> or <i>Mandā</i>	<i>Kampita</i> or <i>Kuñcita</i>	<i>Kampana</i>	<i>Kuṭṭana</i> or <i>Chinna</i>	<i>Vivṛta</i>	<i>Śyāma</i>
3. <i>Hāsya</i>	<i>Vikūṇṭhā</i>	<i>Pūrṇa</i> or <i>Phulla</i>	<i>Visarga</i> or <i>Vivartana</i>	<i>Lehana</i> or <i>Cukkita</i>	<i>Vivṛta</i> or <i>Vinivṛtta</i>	<i>Prasanna</i>
4. <i>Karūṇa</i>	<i>Natā</i> or <i>Mandā</i>	<i>Kṣāma</i>	<i>Samudga</i>	<i>Sama</i> or <i>Chinna</i>	<i>Bhugna</i> or <i>Nirbhugna</i>	<i>Rakta</i>
5. <i>Adbhuta</i>	<i>Svābhāvikā</i>	<i>Sama</i>	<i>Visarga</i> or <i>Sama</i>		<i>Udvāhi</i>	<i>Prasanna</i>

6. <i>Raudra</i>	<i>Vikṛṣṭā</i>	<i>Pūrṇa</i> or <i>Kampita</i>	<i>Kampana</i> or <i>Sandaṣṭaka</i> or <i>Vinigūhana</i>	<i>Daṣṭa</i>	<i>Viniṣṛtta</i>	<i>Rakta</i>
7. <i>Vīra</i>	<i>Vikṛṣṭā</i> or <i>Svābhāvikā</i>	<i>Pūrṇa</i>	—	<i>Sama</i>	<i>Vidhuta</i> or <i>Udvāhī</i>	<i>Rakta</i>
8. <i>Bībhatsa</i>	<i>Vikūṇitā</i>	<i>Kuñcita</i>	<i>Vivartana</i>	<i>Chinna</i> or <i>Kuṭṭana</i>	<i>Viniṣṛtta</i> or <i>Nirbhugna</i>	<i>Śyāma</i>

category and the diagonal or oblique movements of the eyeballs such as the *valana*, *vilokita* belong to the fourth; the normal or relaxed portions of the eyeball such as the *prākṛta*, *sama*, *pāta* belong to yet a fifth category.

Bhrū (eyebrows) and *Puṭa* (eyelids)

The eyelid and eyebrow movements enumerated by the texts show that the theoretician of the dance had explored the full possibilities of movement of these parts of the face and from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* to the *Bālarāmabharata* there is an extensive listing of the eyebrow and eyelid movements.

The seven movements of the eyebrow and the nine movements of the eyelid take into consideration all movements possible physically: they can be reclassified according to the directions of movement and the positions of the eyeball, eyelid and eyebrow. Bharata is fully aware of this when he discusses any one of these movements, and this pattern which seems so abstract can be understood in its entirety only by an awareness of the inter-relationships of the movement of different parts of the eye. The movements of the eyelid and eyebrow along the vertical plane are *unmeṣa*, *vivartitā* (*puṭa*), *utkṣepa* (*bhrū*), *samudvṛtta* (*tārā*), *ullokita* (*darśana*) with an emphasis on an upward movement; *nimeṣa* (eyelid), *pāta* (eyebrow) and *sampraveśana* (eyeball), *avalokita* (*darśana*) have a downward accent. The movements along the horizontal plane (i.e. side to side) are *prasṛta* (eyelid), *catura* (eyebrow), *vivartana* (eyeball movement), *sācī* and *pralokita* (*darśana*). The movements along the thickness have also been visualized as in the *niṣkramaṇa* movement of the eyeball, which suggests a going out or a bulge of the eyeball. The circular movements can apply only to the eyebrow and the eyeball and the *recita bhrū* and the *bhramaṇa* (*tārā*) movements belong to this category.

Contraction, expansion, and throbbing, corresponding to the tense and relaxed positions of the other limbs have also been classified. Thus, the *kuñcita* eyelid and the *kuñcita* eyebrow and the *bhrūkuṭi* eyebrow denote contraction, and *prasṛta* eyelid, the *sahaja* eyebrow, the *ālokitā dr̥ṣṭi* or *darśana* and *pāta* eyeball denote relaxation. The normal positions of these parts have been termed as *sama* (eyelid), *sahaja* (eyebrow), *prākṛta* (eyeball) and *sama* (*dr̥ṣṭi*), respectively. In the case of the eyelid the throbbing movement (*sphurita*) has also been taken into account.

The nine movements of the eyebrow which the *Bālarāmabharata* enumerates are in fact only combinations of the movements described by Bharata and Śārṅga-deva, and can be reclassified easily under the six basic movements. It will be observed from the tables that the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* does not mention either the eyelid or the eyebrow movements: the *Mirror of Gesture* mentions only the eyebrow movements and does not mention the eyelid movements.

Tables III, IV and V show the movements of the different parts of the eye. Table III shows the relationship of the *tārā* (eyeball) movements and the additional *dr̥ṣṭis* laid down by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*; these *dr̥ṣṭis* are termed *darśana* by the later texts. Table IV shows the different eyebrow movements according to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Mirror of Gesture*, *Sāṅgitaratnākara* and *Bālarāmabharata*. Table V shows the movements of the *puṭa* (eyelid), eyebrows and eyeballs. (Tables on pp 46-51)

Mukhajābhinaya (movements of the face)

Movements of the mouth (*mukha*), nose (*nāsā*), cheeks (*gaṇḍa*), chin (*cibuka*) and lips (*adhara*) are classified in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *Sāṅgitaratnākara*, the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* and the *Bālarāmabharata* according to the muscular possibilities of movement of these parts of the face. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* classification is followed to a large extent by the other texts. The *Sāṅgitaratnākara* adds a few more movements in the case of the lips such as *udvṛtta*, *āyata* and *recita* and two more movements, *grahana* and *niṣkarṣaṇa*, in the case of the chin (classified as teeth movements). Most of these movements are important more from the point of view of *abhinaya* than that of *nṛtta*. The usage gives them significance in the former aspect of dancing. The tongue (*jihvā*) movements are enumerated only by the later texts (i.e., *Sāṅgitaratnākara*, *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* and *Bālarāmabharata*) and have not been mentioned by Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. There is scant evidence in the literary works of Sanskrit literature of the popular usage of these movements of the nose, cheeks, chin, etc.; the *dr̥ṣṭis*, the movements of the eyeball (*tārā*) and the eyebrow (*bhrū*) are, however, frequently mentioned by the creative writers. *Kathākali* alone among dance styles utilizes these classifications of facial muscles etc., for the rest they are known as part of a discipline and training of the dancer, but are not consciously employed in Indian dancing. The *Bālarāmabharata* mentions many more movements of these parts of the face which seem to derive their validity from the oral rather than the academic tradition; nevertheless, most of them can be analyzed in terms of their corresponding *vyabhīcārī bhāva* etc. and thus form an integral part of *āṅgikābhinaya* of classical dancing. Table VI indicates the correlation of each of these movements of the nose, cheeks, lips, chin, and the mouth to one another. (Table VI on pp 52-53)

Śirobheda (movements of the head)

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* mentions thirteen basic movements of the head and discusses the *vinīyoga* (usage) both in terms of *abhinaya* and *nṛtta*. The *Abhinayadarpaṇa* mentions nine movements of which five are similar to the ones mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*: of the other four, three have common names but not the same descriptions as in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*; the ninth, viz., *sama* is completely differently defined.

The *Sāṅgitaratnākara* follows the *Nāṭyaśāstra* closely and repeats the thirteen movements mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, but adds the *sama* of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and another five new movements not mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

TABLE III

Tārā (eyeball movements) and *Darśana* (glances)

<i>Tārā</i> (eyeball movements)			<i>Darśanas</i> or <i>Dr̥ṣṭis</i> (glances)		
<i>NŚ</i> , <i>SR</i> & <i>NŚS</i> ⁵⁰	<i>BB</i> ⁶⁰	<i>NŚ</i> ⁶¹ calls them <i>dr̥ṣṭis</i>	<i>AD</i> & <i>MG</i> ⁶² <i>Dr̥ṣṭis</i>	<i>SR</i> & <i>NŚS</i> ⁶³ <i>Darśana</i>	<i>BB</i> ⁶⁴ calls them <i>Dr̥ṣṭis</i> which observe objects
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)

1. *Bhramana* (a circular movement of the eyeball)

As in *NŚ*

As in *NŚ*, but the movements are called *darśana*; they clearly denote the variations in the position of the pupils in different kinds of observation and are thus called the objective or *viśayābhimukha tārā* etc.

Vilokana

2. *Valana* (the oblique or diagonal movement of the eyeball)

As in *NŚ*, but the *vinīyoga* is different

Vilokita (looking at an object behind, turning)

3. <i>Pāta</i> (a relaxed normal position of the eyeball)	As in <i>NŚ</i> , two types are listed: <i>śīghra</i> and <i>manthar pāta</i>	<i>Anuvṛtta</i> (looking at an object carefully)	<i>Anuvṛtta</i> (but the description is different: here it is a movement of the pupils up and down)	<i>Anuvṛtta</i> (difference in use and definition)
4. <i>Calana</i> (the tremor of the eyeballs)	As in <i>NŚ</i> , two types of movements are listed: <i>svasthāna calana</i> and the <i>sarvatracalana</i>			
5. <i>Sampraveśana</i> (when the eyeballs are drawn inside so that the pupil is practically invisible)	As in <i>NŚ</i>	<i>Avalokita</i> (looking at an object below but the pupils are hidden in the eyelids)	<i>Avalokita</i> (slight difference in definition).	<i>Avalokana</i>
6. <i>Vivartana</i> (the sideways movement with open eyelid is called <i>kaṭākṣa</i> also)	As in <i>NŚ</i>	<i>Sāci</i> (the sidelong glance the pupil is taken to the corner of the eye)	As in <i>NŚ</i>	<i>Sāci</i>
7. <i>Samudvṛtta</i> (raising of the eyeballs)	<i>Udvṛtta</i> (same as <i>samudvṛtta</i>)	<i>Pralokita</i> (looking at an object from the side)	<i>Pralokita</i> but slight difference in definition	<i>Pralokana</i>
		<i>Ullokita</i> (taking the pupil up—looking at a high object)	As in <i>NŚ</i>	<i>Ullokana</i>
				(Continued)

TABLE III (Contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
8. <i>Niṣkramaṇa</i> (the bulging of the eye-balls)	As in <i>NŚ</i>	<i>Alokita</i> (the sudden opening of the eyes)	As in <i>NŚ</i>		<i>Ālokana</i>
9. <i>Prākṛta</i> (natural glance)	<i>Prasṛta</i> (cf. <i>prākṛta</i> of the <i>NŚ</i>)	<i>Sama</i> (eye-ball in middle of eye) ⁶⁰	As in <i>NŚ nimitā</i> (half closed eyes)		<i>Sama</i>

TABLE IV

Bhrū (movements of the eyebrow)

<i>NS</i> ⁶⁵	<i>MG</i> ⁶⁶	<i>SR & NS</i> ⁶⁷	<i>BB</i> ⁶⁸	<i>BB</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1. <i>Utkṣepa</i> (raising the eyebrow)	<i>Utkṣipta</i> (raising the eyebrow as in <i>NS</i>)	As in <i>MG</i>	As in <i>SR & NS</i>	
2. <i>Pātana</i> (lowering the eyebrow)	<i>Patita</i> (difference in definition—usage same)	As in <i>MG</i>	As in <i>MG</i>	
3. <i>Bhrūkuṭi</i> (knitting the eyebrow)		<i>Bhrūkuṭi</i> —as in <i>NS</i>		Additional movements of <i>Bhrūkuṭi</i> given by <i>BB</i>
4. <i>Catura</i> (when the eyebrow is pleasantly extended)	<i>Catura</i>	As in <i>MG</i>	As in <i>MG</i>	
5. <i>Kuñcita</i> (contracted)	<i>Kuñcita</i>	<i>Nikuñcita</i> —(slight variation in definition)	As in <i>NS</i>	
6. <i>Recita</i> (moving gracefully)	<i>Recita</i>	As in <i>MG</i>	As in <i>NS</i>	
7. <i>Sahaja</i> (natural)	<i>Sahaja</i>	As in <i>MG</i>	As in <i>NS</i>	1. <i>Valitā</i> 2. <i>Calitā</i> 3. <i>Stabdā</i> 4. <i>Āyatā</i> 5. <i>Avakunṭhitā</i> 6. <i>Vivartitā</i> 7. <i>Natā</i> 8. <i>Vakritā</i> 9. <i>Lalitā</i>

TABLE V

Movements of the *puṭa* (eyelid) and corresponding movements of the *bhrū* (eyebrow), *tārā* (eyeball) and *darśana* (glances)

	<i>Puṭa</i> (eyelid)		<i>Bhrū</i> (eyebrow)		<i>Tārā</i> (eyeball)		<i>Darśana</i> (look)	
	<i>SR & NŚS</i> ⁷⁰	<i>BB</i> ⁷¹	<i>NŚ</i>		<i>NŚ</i>		<i>NŚ</i>	
1	2	3	4		5		6	

1. *Unmeṣa* (opening the eyelids) As in *NŚ* As in *SR* (slight difference in definition) *Utkṣepa* *Samudvṛtta* *Ullokita*
2. *Nimeṣa* (closing of the eyelids) As in *NŚ* As in *SR* *Pātana* *Sampraveśana* (but with open eyes and not the *nimeṣa* movement of the eyelid) *Avalokita*
3. *Prasṛta* (when the eyelids are well-extended) As in *NŚ* As in *SR* *Catura* *Vivartana* (but with a difference) *Sācī*
4. *Kuñcita* (contracted eyelid) As in *NŚ* As in *SR* *Recita Kuñcita* *Bhramana*
5. *Sama* (normal) *Sama* *As in SR* *Sahaja* *Prakṛta pātana* *Sama*

6. <i>Vivartita</i> (eyelids moved up)	As in <i>NŚ</i>	<i>Nivartita</i>	<i>Utkṣepa</i>	<i>Vivartana</i> (but eye-balls are moved to one side and not up)
		<i>Udvartita-BB</i> names two movements, both upward movement of the eyelids		
7. <i>Sphūrita</i> (throbbing)	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>SR</i>		
8. <i>Pihita</i> (when fully contracted)	As in <i>NŚ</i> but says eyes are to close	<i>Vihata</i> —as in <i>SR</i>		
9. <i>Vitāḍita</i> (when the upper eyelid suddenly strikes the lower)	<i>Vicālita</i> but description similar		<i>Bhrūkuṭi</i>	

TABLE VI

Mukhajābhaya

<i>NŚ, SR, NŚS & BB⁷²</i>		<i>NŚ, SR, NŚS & BB⁷³</i>	<i>NŚ, SR, NŚS & BB⁷⁴</i>		
<i>Nāsā</i> (nose)		<i>Gaṇḍa</i> (checks)	<i>Adhara</i> (lips)	<i>Cibuka</i> (chin)	<i>Mukha</i> (mouth)
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1. <i>Natā</i> (lobes clinging)		1. <i>Kṣāma</i> (depressed)	1. <i>Vivartana</i> (narrowing)	1. <i>Chinna</i> (closing the jaws)	1. <i>Nirbhugna</i>
2. <i>Mandā</i> (depressed)			2. <i>Sandaṣṭaka</i> (biting by teeth)	2. <i>Kuṭṭana</i> 3. <i>Daṣṭa</i> (lips between the teeth)	
3. <i>Vikṛṣṭā</i> (lobes are blown)		2. <i>Phulla</i> (blown)	3. <i>Visarga</i> (spread out)		2. <i>Bhugna</i> (spread out) 3. <i>Vinivṛtta</i> 4. <i>Udvāhī</i> (turned up)
4. <i>Socchvāsā</i> (deep breathing etc.)		3. <i>Pūrṇa</i> (fully expanded)		4. <i>Cukṣita</i>	

5. <i>Vikūṃitā</i> (contracting)	4. <i>Kuñcita</i>	4. <i>Samudgaka</i> (contracting)	
	5. <i>Kampita</i>	5. <i>Kampana</i>	5. <i>·Khaṇḍana</i>
6. <i>Svābhāvikā</i> (natural)	6. <i>Sama</i>	6. <i>Sama</i> (lips slightly parted)	5. <i>Vivṛta</i>
		6. <i>Vinigūhana</i>	6. <i>Vidhuta</i>
		7. <i>Lehita</i>	

The *Mirror of Gesture* mentions twenty-four movements of the head of which the definition of *lolita* alone differs from the nineteen mentioned in the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, the other five are new. The *Nāṭyaśāstra Sāṅgraha* repeats the movements listed by the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. The *Bālarāmabharata* lists eleven movements of the head to begin with, which correspond to a few movements of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and a few others of the *Mirror of Gesture*'s supplementary list. The *Bālarāmabharata* also gives us another list of thirteen movements of the head many of which can be identified with movements enumerated in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*; for example *dirghakampita* corresponds to the *ākampita* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*; the *śīghrakampita* corresponds to the *kampita* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*; the *dhuta* and *vidhuta* are the same movements as in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *udveṣṭita* corresponds to the *utkṣipta* of *Nāṭyaśāstra*: three movements, namely, *calita*, *kandharāṁsa* and *upaveṣṭita* are not mentioned by the earlier texts. Further it makes sixteen groups of eleven to fourteen movements each, which are derived by combining each of the above-mentioned movements with the other.⁷⁵ Thus innumerable varieties of head gestures emerge: however, these remain only theoretical permutations and combinations, for each one of these movements could be reduced to the basic movements mentioned by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*⁷⁶. It appears that the author is exploring the academic possibilities of the head movement; the head movements enumerated by him are thus interesting only from the point of view of an hypothetical classification and are not important as movement.

A perusal of Table VII will show similarities and dissimilarities in the different texts and will also make it clear that the *Mirror of Gesture*'s supplementary list is utilized freely and profitably by most of the other authors. (Tables VII, VIII, IX pp 55-60)

The various directions of movement have been analyzed in the *śirobheda* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*⁷⁶. If they are regrouped, then the *sama* movement forms a class by itself, and the others can be regrouped thus: *ākampita* and *kampita* form one category; *dhuta*, *vidhuta*, *parāvṛtta* and *parivāhita*, a second; *adhogata*, (*adhomukha* of *Abhinayadarpaṇa*) and *avadhūta*, a third; *udvāhita* and *utkṣipta*, a fourth; *añcita* and *nihañcita*, a fifth; and *parilolita*, *lolita* and *ālolita*, a sixth. All other movements are derived from these basic movements. Of the basic thirteen gestures, six indicate positions and the others movements. The same principle is followed in movements of the *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Vakṣa, *Uras* (chest)

Of the five movements described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of the *uras* or *vakṣa* (chest) we find that four are static postures indicating positions of the chest (torso) in relation to the *brahma sūtra* (vertical median) and the fifth is a movement indicating trembling shaking, (*prakampita*). *Ābhugna*⁸⁸ (slightly bent) is the position where the torso (i.e., the portion of the body between the *hikkā sūtra* (shoulder line) and the *bhadra sūtra* (navel line)) is slightly bent forward: the position is however

TABLE VII

Śirobheda (movements of the head)

<i>NŚ</i> ⁷⁷ 13 movements	<i>AD</i> 9 movements	<i>MG</i> ⁷⁸ 9+24 movements	<i>SR</i> 19 movements	<i>NŚ</i> 19 movements listed	<i>BB</i> 11 primary movements
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. <i>Ākampita</i> (up and down movement)		As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	
2. <i>Kampita</i> (a quick movement of the head in a fast tempo)	<i>Kampita</i>	As in <i>AD</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	<i>Kampita</i> as in <i>NŚ</i>	
3. <i>Dhuta</i> (side bend of the head)	<i>Dhuta</i> (slight difference in definition)	As in <i>AD</i>	<i>Dhuta</i> as in <i>NŚ</i>	<i>Dhuta</i> as in <i>NŚ</i>	
4. <i>Vidhuta</i> (side bend of the head)		As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	<i>Vidhuta</i> as in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>MG</i>
		<i>Ādhuta</i>	<i>Ādhuta</i> as in <i>MG</i>	<i>Ādhuta</i> as in <i>MG</i>	

(Continued)

TABLE VII (Contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
5. <i>Parivāhita</i> (the sideways movement of head)	<i>Parivāhita</i> a side to side movement actually a neck movement	As in <i>AD</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i> , but defines it as a circular movement	As in <i>NŚ</i> , (difference in definition more like the <i>paralolita</i> of <i>NŚ</i>)	
6. <i>Udvāhita</i> (when it is lifted up)	<i>Udvāhita</i>	As in <i>AD</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
7. <i>Avadhuta</i> (when it is turned down)		<i>Avadhuta</i> as in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>		
8. <i>Añcita</i> (when the neck is bent on one side)		As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
9. <i>Nihañcita</i> (the movement with raised shoulders)		As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
10. <i>Parāvṛtta</i> (when the face is turned around backward movement)	<i>Parāvṛtta</i>	As in <i>AD</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
11. <i>Utkṣipta</i> (when the face is turned up with an <i>udvāhita</i> head)	<i>Utkṣipta</i> (difference in definition. Side and up both in <i>AD</i>)	As in <i>AD</i>	<i>Ākṣipta</i> (slight difference in definition)	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>

12. <i>Adhogata</i> (when face is turned down: cf. with <i>avadhuta</i>)	<i>Adhomukha</i>	As in <i>AD</i>	<i>Adhomukha</i> as in <i>AD</i>	As in <i>AD</i>
13. <i>Parilolita</i> (when the head is turned on all sides)	<i>Ālolita</i>	Repeated	As in <i>NS</i> , but called <i>lolita</i>	
		<i>Lolita</i>	As in <i>MG</i>	As in <i>MG</i>
		<i>Tiryonnatānnata</i>	As in <i>MG</i>	As in <i>MG</i>
	<i>Sama</i>	Repeated as in <i>AD</i>	As in <i>MG</i>	As in <i>AD</i>
		<i>Skandhānata</i>	As in <i>MG</i>	As in <i>MG</i>
		<i>Ārātrika</i>	As in <i>MG</i>	As in <i>MG</i>
		<i>Pārśvabhimukha</i>	As in <i>MG</i>	As in <i>MG</i>
		<i>Saunya</i>		
		<i>Tiraścīna</i>		
		<i>Prakampita</i>		
		<i>Saundarya</i> ⁷⁹		

TATBE VIII

Grivābheda (neck)

	<i>NŚ</i> ⁸⁰ 9 movements	<i>AD</i> ⁸¹ 4 movements	<i>MG</i> ⁸² as in <i>AD</i>	<i>SR</i> ⁸³ 9 movements	<i>NŚS</i> ⁸⁴ 9 movements	<i>BB</i> ⁸⁵ 10 movements
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. <i>Sama</i>				As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i> As in <i>SR</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
2. <i>Natā</i> (neck bent down cf. <i>adhogata</i> head move- ment)				As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
3. <i>Unnatā</i> (cf. <i>udvāhita</i> head movement: the neck is thrown up).				As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
		<i>Tiraścina</i> a glid- ing movement to the side	As in <i>AD</i>			
4. <i>Tryasrā</i> (neck bent with face turned sideways) <i>pārsvābhimukha</i> ; cf. also <i>NŚ parivāhita</i> movement of the head				As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
		<i>Sundarī</i> (neck moved horizon- tally without turning of the face)	As in <i>AD</i>			

5. <i>Recitā</i> (has something in common with the <i>parilolita</i> head movement)	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
6. <i>Kuñcitā</i> (cf. <i>avadhuta</i> head movement neck is slightly bent)	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	
7. <i>Añcitā</i> (cf. <i>utkṣipta</i> head movement, head thrown back but the neck movement indicates an extreme position)	As in <i>NŚ</i>	Name as in <i>NŚ</i> but the movement is more akin to the <i>sun-darī</i> of <i>AD</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
8. <i>Valitā</i> (cf. <i>parivāhita</i> head movement also <i>NŚ dhuta</i>)	<i>Valita</i>	<i>Nivṛtta</i> —there is a difference in movement here as the neck is turned backwards	<i>Nivṛtta</i> as in <i>SR</i>
	As in <i>AD</i>		
	<i>Parivartita</i> (but here the movement is a circular half moon movement)		
	<i>Prakampita</i> a forward and backward movement of the neck		<i>Parāvṛtta</i> turning back of the head
	as in <i>AD</i>		
9. <i>Vivṛttā</i> (the circular movement of the neck in relaxed position)	<i>Nivṛtta</i> cf. with <i>vivṛtta</i> of <i>NŚ</i> but this is a taut position and not a relaxed one)	<i>Valita</i> —turned to look sideways	<i>Galita</i> as in <i>SR</i>

TABLE IX

Mukha (the mouth and the face and the corresponding head and neck gestures)

<i>NŚ</i> ⁸⁶ <i>Mukha</i> (face)	<i>SR & NŚ</i> ⁸⁷ <i>Mukha</i> (face)	<i>NŚ</i> <i>Śira</i> (head)	<i>NŚ</i> <i>Griva</i> (neck)
1. <i>Vidhuta</i> (mouth opened face turned from side to side)	<i>Vidhuta</i>	<i>Vidhuta</i> (a head movement) a violent movement	
2. <i>Vinivṛtta</i> (in turning the face away)	<i>Vinivṛtta</i>	<i>Parāvṛtta</i>	<i>Nivṛtta</i> and <i>vivṛtta</i> are variations
3. <i>Nirbhugna</i> (lowering face long drawn)	<i>Vyābhugna</i> definition akin to that of <i>NŚ nirbhugna</i>	<i>Adhogata</i>	
4. <i>Bhugna, vyābhugna</i>	<i>Bhugna vyābhugna</i> (when slightly lowered)	<i>Avadhuta</i>	<i>Nata</i>
5. <i>Vivṛta</i> (when the lips are kept apart)	<i>Vivṛta</i>		
6. <i>Udvāhī</i> (when turned up)	<i>Udvāhī</i>	<i>Udvāhita</i>	<i>Unnata</i>

one of relaxation, looseness (*śīthila*) and not of tenseness; and thus it can express *viṣāda* (despair), *lajjā* (shyness), etc: there is only a slight curvature of the spine here and no change of weight takes place. *Nirbhugna* is the opposite position where the character of the torso completely changes by the erectness and tautness of the back; here tension rather than relaxation is emphasized: the difference between the softer Mathura figures and the later Cola bronzes is this: the depression of the back so characteristic of the South Indian bronzes is a result of the *nirbhugna* position of the *uras*. *Sama* is the natural position where perfect balance is maintained and no effort at either relaxation or tension is made.

Udvāhita movement has to be considered as a position which results from the control of breath, rather than through a movement of the muscles: the deep breathing (*dīrgha niśvāsa*) which it can express is really the cause of this position for the chest is not bent down, and instead it is thrown forward, with a deep breath.

Prakampita is the combination of the *udvāhita* movement and its opposite executed in quick succession.

The *Abhinayadarpaṇa* does not list the movements of the chest: the *Saṅgītaratnākara*⁸⁹, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*⁹⁰, the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*⁹¹ and the *Bālarāmabharata*⁹², all repeat the nomenclature and descriptions of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, with very slight variations in their description of the usage (*vinīyoga*). The *Bālarāmabharata* lists two other movements, namely, the *calita* and the *bhramaṇa*. *Calita* is a slight movement of the chest which can be used for excitement (*romāñca*) etc. The *bhramaṇa* is the right-to-left movement of the chest and seems to indicate a grotesque movement. In actual practice the *bhramaṇa* movement of the chest and the movement of the side (*pārśva*) overlap; the description of these movement in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is more precise.

Pārśva (side) & *Kaṭi* (hip)

The *Nāṭyaśāstra*⁹³ enumerates five movements each of the *kaṭi* and the *pārśva*. The other texts repeat these movements of the *pārśva* and the *kaṭi*: the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*⁹⁴, the *Saṅgītaratnākara*⁹⁵, the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*⁹⁶ and the *Bālarāmabharata*⁹⁷—all have identical lists. The *Bālarāmabharata*, however, lists nine movements of the *kaṭi* as against the five of the others: these movements, are, *sama*, *apavāhita*, *calita* and *vivartita*⁹⁸. These do not indicate new movements however and are all variations of the first five movements. Table X (p. 63) indicates the relative positions of the *uras* (chest) the *pārśva* (side) and the *kaṭi* (hips) according to these texts.

Ūrū (thigh)

The movements of the thighs, as enumerated by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, indicate the

movements of the leg between the hip joint and the knee joint. These movements are very closely related to the *kaṭi* (hip) movements and the shank or calf movement and can be fully understood only in relation to the movements of these parts of the human body. The five movements of the thighs listed by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*⁹⁹ are repeated faithfully by the *Sāṅgītaratnākara*¹⁰⁰, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*¹⁰¹ and the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*¹⁰²: the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and the *Mirror of Gesture* do not list any movements of the thighs and knees: the *Bālarāma-bharata*¹⁰³ describes nine movements of the *ūrū* (thigh) of which only two seem to be in common with the earlier texts. Table XI (p. 64) attempts a classification of these movements.

Jānu and *Jaṅghā* (knees and shanks)

The *Nāṭyaśāstra*¹⁰⁴ lists five positions of the *jaṅghā* (shanks), which arise out of the extension and flexion of the leg, the manipulation of the knee and the ankle joint and the placing of the feet. We have thus:

Āvartita (turned): here the toes of the feet face each other inwards: naturally such a position of the feet results in the knees also facing each other. This is used for the jester's walking, as this kind of a movement invariably produces a comic effect.

Nata (bent): in this position, the knees are bent in front; this shank and knee position is seen very often in *Maṇipurī*. *Nata* is used in several ways, in sitting, walking and in the various *sthānakas*.

Kṣipta (throwing out): here the legs are bent and the knees are turned outwards. Bharata says quite clearly that it is used in the *tāṇḍava* dance. This is the position of the knees which we find in the basic stance of *Bharatanāṭyam* today. The shanks form an acute angle with the thighs. It is akin to the demi-plié of the classical western ballet.

Udvāhita (raised): The knee is raised to hip level, the leg being bent at a right angle.

Parivartita (turned back): The position is attained when the thigh is stretched backwards and the leg is bent at a right angle. The *Sāṅgītaratnākara* defines this as the movement of one who moves along a curved path¹⁰⁵. In listing these movements of the knee Bharata has taken into consideration most of the movements which the knee as a 'hinge joint' is capable of.

The *Sāṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* list these but also mention five additional movements.¹⁰⁶ The five additional movements are:

TABLE X

Related movements of the chest, side and hip

<i>Vakśa</i> (chest)	<i>Pārśva</i> (side)	<i>Kaṭi</i> (hip)	Remarks
<i>Ābhugna</i> (front bend indicates a spine curvature)	<i>Nata</i> (side bending in the right left direction)		The possibility of movement of the torso, and the parts of the body from the shoulder line (<i>hikkā sūtra</i>) to the <i>kati sūtra</i> have been analyzed here. The <i>trika</i> (sacrum) is a focal point from which all movements in the round emerge: the tension and relaxation of the vertical line of the back result in the different types of bends; the torso taken as a unit along the horizontal plane results in the <i>nata</i> and <i>unnata</i> positions of the <i>pārśva</i>
<i>Nirbhugna</i> (erect, back depression; indicates a spinal stretch)	<i>Unnata</i> —the opposite position in sideways movement		
<i>Udvāhita</i> (raised, upright torso)	<i>Prasārita</i> (sides taken to the extreme point in space right left direction)	<i>Udvāhitā</i> (when the hip is slightly raised and brought down)	
<i>Prakampita</i> (trembling)		<i>Prakampitā</i> or <i>Kampitā</i>	
<i>Sama</i> (natural)	<i>Vivartita</i> (the <i>trika</i> , sacrum, turned around) <i>Prasṛta</i> or <i>apasṛta</i>	<i>Recitā</i> —a circular movement <i>chinnā</i> —turning from the point of <i>bhadra sūtra nivṛtta</i> or <i>vivṛta</i> (turning to the back)	

TABLE XI

Urū (thigh)

NŚ SR VD NŚS	BB	Remarks
1. <i>Kampana</i> or <i>kampita</i> (trembling), an up and down movement as a result of a repetitive toe-heel movement of the feet	<i>Vyasta</i> —distance between two feet, a sideways movement	These belong to one group—where a sideways movement is implied
2. <i>Valana</i> or <i>valita</i> this is really a crossing of the thighs even though it is not clearly stated in the <i>NS</i> : in the description of the <i>karana</i> the movement is described and this position is implied	<i>Purahpaścātsthita</i>	
3. <i>Stambhana</i> , <i>stabdha</i> a still motionless position	<i>Sama. samasta</i>	There is a slight difference between the two
4. <i>Udvartana</i> or <i>udvartita</i> a raising and lifting of the thighs implying extension without the foot leaving ground	<i>Samastavyastakampita uparikṣipta</i>	This is a combined movement
5. <i>Vivartana</i> or <i>vivartita</i> in turning round, a circular movement	<i>Vistrīta</i> —(expansion) <i>Vivṛta</i> very similar to the <i>NŚ</i> movement <i>Vyatyasta</i>	

Nihsṛta: the leg is extended forward high.

Parāvṛtta (variation of the *parivartita*): one leg is stretched backwards while the knee touches the ground. In any one of these positions one leg is bent forward at the hip level and the other is stretched back; the knee of the stretched leg may touch the ground or both the knee and the lower leg may be in contact with the ground.

Tiraścīna: it is one of the positions which the *kṣipta* movement of the shank can attain; here the knee with an outward sideways bend touches the ground. Such an out-stretched sitting position is frequently seen in *Bharatanāṭyam*. Two other movements are mentioned, namely, the *bāhīrgata* and the *kampita*; the latter is accurately described as that by which the sound of the bells is produced by a controlled movement of the knee and the ankle. The *Saṅgītaratnākara* does not stop at this and lists seven different movements of the knee joint separately,¹⁰⁷ namely, *samhaṭa*, *kuñcita*, *ardhakuñcita*, *nata*, *unnata*, *vivṛta*, and *sama*.

Samhaṭa: it is the position of perfect equilibrium which corresponds to the *samapāda* position of the feet; the *kuñcita* indicates the cross-legged sitting posture; *ardhakuñcita* position is a similar one. *Nata* is not the *nata* of the *jaṅghā*, for this *nata* indicates the contact of the knee joint with the ground and it corresponds more closely to the position possible by the *tiraścīna* movement of the *jaṅghā* mentioned by the *Saṅgītaratnākara*.

Vivṛta: this position is possible by the *bāhīrgata* movement or the *kṣipta* movement, i.e., sideways, outward movement of the shanks. The present *vivṛta*, however, is nearest to what one finds in the basic stance of the *Kathākali* posture, where both the knees are turned outwards and the feet are well apart. This position would be best attained by placing the side of the foot in the *pārśvaga* position. The *unnata* knee is the highest position which the *udvāhita* position of the *jaṅghā* (shank) can attain by raising the knee to the chest-level.

Knees are most important in the *nṛtta* technique of Indian dancing; the careful and detailed study of the feet and their contact with the ground, the meticulous perfection of the basic and secondary positions attained by the knees as a consequence give each classical Indian dance style its particular character. The dance which Vikrama does in the fourth act in *Vikramorvaśī* is one in which knees are most frequently used. The contemporary styles of classical dancing lay particular stress on one or the other of the positions mentioned above; thus we find that, in *Kathak*, the *samhaṭa jānu* of the *Saṅgītaratnākara* is frequently used, and a *sama* position of the knees is the only relaxation allowed to the knees in the *nṛtta* technique of this dance style. The *kṣipta* and the *bāhīrgata* movements of the *jaṅghā* indicating the outward sideways position of the knees is the basic stance of *Bharata-*

nāṭyam and is seen in practically all the sculptured dance poses after the eighth century. The *vivṛta* movement of the knees (of the *Saṅgītaratnākara*) indicates the basic stance of *Kathākali*: the *nata* of the shank, i.e., the relaxed position, where the legs are completely relaxed but bent in front, is used most frequently in *Maṇipurī*.

Bālarāmabharata treats the knee and shank movements from different angles: it divides knee movements into six classes by virtue of the formation they result in, and their use in different types of sitting and standing and reclining postures. According to their uses (*vinīyoga*), the *jānu* movements have been classified as those for the (i) *sthānas*; (ii) *karaṇas*; (iii) *āsanas*; (iv) *gati*; (v) *maṇḍalas*; and (vi) *śayana*. In terms of the movements of the shank possible from the knee joint, two broad categories are made: the first relates to the flexed position of the knee, when it is bent in various directions and at different levels, i.e., front, low, up, and sideways; the second relates to the stretched and extended positions of the lower leg: here the thigh and the shank are considered to be one unit.

In the first category termed as the *sthānāṅgajānu bheda*, we have the following positions: *samādīrgha samanata*, *ekajānūnnata*, *kuñcita*, *kuñcitocca*, *kuñcitoccatara* and *kuñcitoccatama*. The second and third movements denote a front bend of the leg: the fourth is the slight raising of the knee, which is used to denote climbing stairs etc. The last three are the sideways movement of the knee joint, which result in the flexed position of the shank; these indicate the relative positions of raising the shank from the ground and are comparable to the *kṣipta* and *udvāhita* positions of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and the *bāhīrgata* position of the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. These positions are akin to the seven movements of the knee joint described in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* but are not identical. In the second category, the extended positions of the shank and the thigh are enumerated by *Bālarāma*; thus the front extension and elevation, the sideways extension, the back extension and the sideways extended elevation from the ground are all classified, such as the *danḍapāda*, *kṣipta*, *purahpaścāt*, *pārśvataḥ*, *dīrghaprasārana* and *sama*, etc.¹⁰⁸ Each extension is further sub-divided but it is not necessary to go into the details of these classifications here. At the time *Bālarāma* wrote the *Bālarāmabharata*, the dancing traditions of different provinces had evolved their individual stylizations and the writer seems to have codified all the varieties prevalent in his region.

The movements of the shanks (*jaṅghā*) and the movements and positions of the knee joint (*jānu*) enumerated in the *Saṅgītaratanākara*¹⁰⁹ and the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*¹¹⁰ have to be studied together, as one supplements the other. The ten movements of the *jaṅghā* (shanks) and the seven movements of the knee joint (*jānu*) can be reclassified. *Nata jaṅghā* and the *nata* positions of the knee (*jānu*) are variations of a movement in the same direction. The *nata jānu* is the final position

when the knee touches the ground; the *nata jaṅghā* is the initial position when the leg bend begins. The *kṣipta* and the *bāhirgata* of the *jaṅghā* and the *kuñcita* position of the *jānu* are in one class, where the sideways movements of the leg and the knee are indicated. With the legs being bent and with the knees pointing outwards the first position is the *kṣipta*, the next is *bāhirgata* when the distance between the knees is the greatest. *Kuñcita* indicates the final position in which the knee touches the ground as in the sitting *āsana* positions. The *tiraścīna* shank movement is the intermediate position where the knee is in contact with the ground but the thigh is lifted up.

The knees and the shanks play a most significant and vital role in the *nṛtta* technique of Indian dancing; the varying emphasis on either the *nata* type of movement of the *kṣipta* or *bāhirgata* or the *samhaṭa* or the *vivṛta* gives each of these dance styles, be it *Bharatanāṭyam* or *Kathākali*, *Maṇipurī* or *Kathak* a distinctive character. The *kṣipta* or *bāhirgata* movement denotes the *tāṇḍava* dance, and most sculptural representations of dancing utilize the *kṣipta* or *bāhirgata* positions of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Śaṅgītaratnākara*. The other positions of the shanks such as the back extensions and flexions implied in the *parāvṛtta* movement are seen in the sitting, kneeling, and specially the flying figures of Indian sculpture.

Pāda (feet)

The feet positions described by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *Śaṅgītaratnākara*, the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* and the *Bālarāmabharata* indicate both the contact of a particular part of the foot with the ground and the placing of the entire foot in a particular direction.

The five positions of the feet mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are the basic positions, and eight others mentioned by the *Śaṅgītaratnākara* and repeated by the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* are combinations of movement arising out of these.

When the whole foot is placed on the ground, with the leg in the normal position, it is called *sama*; the position where the toe and the ball of the foot touch the ground is known as the *kuñcita*; when only the heels touch the ground and the rest of the foot is lifted up, it is termed as the *añcita*; and, when only the big toe touches the ground and the rest of the foot is lifted up as in the Western classical ballet, it is called the *agratalasañcara*. When the *kuñcita* foot is followed by the *sama* or the *añcita*, i.e., when the toes touch the ground first and then the entire foot touches the ground with the heel striking the ground, it is called the *udghaṭita*¹¹¹ movement: the Tamil name used in *Bharatanāṭyam* for this is the *kudittamiṭṭa*. Bharata also mentions the *sūcī pārṣṇiga* and the *tryaśra* feet, in addition to the five types of feet movement¹¹², mentioned above. Of these three, the first

two are mentioned by the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* under descriptions of the *carāṇa bheda*; the third occurs in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and other texts to denote the oblique placing of the foot. The *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* mention six other movements which are combinations of the basic positions mentioned by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Thus, the clearly distinguishable *añcita* foot followed by the *kuñcita* (i.e., heel-toe movement) is called the *ghaṭṭi-totsedha*, which is the opposite of the *udghaṭṭita* movement. The *tādita* is a variation of the same when the floor is hit hard by the forepart of the toe after the heel has been in contact with the ground. The variation of the *agratalasañcara* foot is the *agra* movement, where walking on tip-toe is indicated.

The opposite movement of the *agratalasañcara* feet is the *ghaṭṭita*, when, instead of the tip of the toe touching the ground, the edge of the heel touches the ground, making it a variation of the *añcita* foot. Walking backwards on the heels is the *pārśṇiga* movement. In the *mardita* and *pārśvaga* movement, the foot is placed sideways. The *mardita* position of the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* is very much akin to the *tryśra* mentioned by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The placing of the weight of the body on the side of the foot (as in the initial positions of *Kathākali*) can be identified as the *pārśvaga* movement, corresponding to the *parāvṛtta* movement of the shanks. We can thus reclassify these movements as follows: the *kuñcita*, the *sūcī*, the *agratalasañcara* and the *agra*, belong to one category where the forepart of the toes of the feet touch the ground. The *añcita*, the *ghaṭṭita* and the *pārśṇiga* belong to the next where the heel touches the ground. The *udghaṭṭita*, the *ghaṭṭitotsedha* and the *tādita* belong to the third where toe-heel, heel-toe, and hard hitting is indicated.

The *sama mardita* and *pārśvaga* belong to the fourth category where the foot is placed on the ground. When the toes point to the front, it is *sama*; when they point sideways, it is *mardita*; and when the side of the foot touches the ground, it is *pārśvaga*. The *Abhinayadarpaṇa* does not discuss movements of the feet, but, in its discussion of the jumps (*utplavana*), spiral movements or turns (*bhramarī*) and the different types of walking (*cārī* and *pādacārī*), it utilizes all these positions,¹¹³ and indicates fairly clearly whether the toe or the heel or both are to touch the ground in any movement.

The other positions of the feet are discussed in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the context of the *sthāna* (postures) such as *āyata*, *avahittha*¹¹⁴, etc., for women, and *vaiṣṇava ālīḍha* and *pratyālīḍha* for men. These *sthānas* indicate the distance of the feet from each other, and the exact direction in which the feet are placed. Since these postures are static positions, they are often accurately depicted in sculpture. Postures such as the *ālīḍha* and the *pratyālīḍha* and also *āyata* are frequently seen in sculpture. These will be discussed separately, for they belong to the sphere of poses and posture.

Hasta (hands)

Most texts on dancing divide *hasta* into *asamyuta* and *samyuta*; the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *Mirror of Gesture*, the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* also enumerate *nṛtta hasta*. The first two varieties belong mostly to the sphere of finger manipulation and indicate static positions, with a few exceptions where they indicate movement; the *nṛtta hastas* indicate movement of the fingers for the most part and invariably suggest an arm movement, too. The *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* enumerate other *hastas*, which should really be classified amongst the *vinīyogas* or uses of all these primary hand gestures of single (*asamyuta*) and both hands (*samyuta*). Thus the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* lists eleven hands to be used in denoting relationships, such as *dampati* (couple), *mātr* (mother), etc.¹¹⁵ Fifteen hands denote the different gods and goddesses such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, etc.¹¹⁶, ten hand gestures indicate the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu,¹¹⁷ nine hand gestures symbolize the nine planets,¹¹⁸ and four hands denote the four castes.¹¹⁹ The *Mirror of Gesture* version of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* mentions hands for representing famous emperors such as Hariśacandra, Nala, Rāvaṇa, Dharmarāja, etc.: hands for seven oceans, Lavaṇa, Sūra, etc., for rivers like Yamunā, Gaṅgā, etc., for the seven upper worlds and the seven lower worlds, and hands for indicating different trees, like *aśvattha*, *kadali*, etc., and hands for denoting different animals, birds and aquatic beings. The *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* further lists hands for the twenty-seven *nakṣatras*: this listing has been done in accordance with the *Bharatārṇava*'s enumeration of these *hastas*,¹²⁰ but other authorities also seem to have been utilized. The *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* lists hands to denote different *rāsis*¹²¹, and also to represent notes (*svara*) in music¹²². *Hastas* for the seven principal notes have been listed: on the authority of an author called Brhaspati, the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* enumerates the hand gestures to represent different *rāgas*. All the *rāga hastas* have to be finished with an outward and upward movement of the hands (*udveṣṭita*). Hand gestures for about forty-eight *rāgas* have been listed; each *rāga* can be represented by a *asamyuta* or a *samyuta hasta*, or a *nṛtta* or a *nakṣatra hasta*. The author adds that for other *rāgas* the *abhinaya* should be improvised in accordance with the name, the characteristics and other particulars of the *rāga*. For provinces, countries, cities, kings, and in fact for all beings, moving and unmoving, the *hastābhinaya* has to be conceived in accordance with the *nāma*, *nakṣatra* and other symbols and characteristics of the object. This, the writer of the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* says, is in accordance with the views of Hanumāna¹²³. The *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* also describes the hand gestures to be employed for the representation of the four classes of women, *viv.*, *padminī*, *cetrinī*, *saṅkhiṇī* and *hastinī*.

In movements of the hands, whether for *abhinaya* or for *nṛtta*, the position and direction of movement of the palm is considered important by all authorities. The movement of the wrist also determines the nature of the *hasta* and often a different meaning is suggested if the wrist movement and the palm-facing is changed: the *sūcī hasta* acquires a completely different character if the forefinger is held

upright (*tarjanī hasta* of iconography) and if the forefinger is used as a pointer on the horizontal plane.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* lays down different types of classifications of the *hastas* (single, double and dance hands) in terms of the plane, direction and area of movement of the palm, fingers, wrists and arms. This classification is a scientific analysis of the different ways in which each hand may be used with a full awareness of the different areas of movement of which the arms and hands are capable in relation to the body. Bharata also speaks of three positions of the palm, viz., *uttāna* (palms facing up), *adhastala* (facing down) and facing side ways obliquely (*tryaśra*). When the fingers point up in the vertical plane and move forward away from the body, it is a *agraja*; and, when they point downwards and move downwards, it is *adhomukha*. Abhinavagupta explains this lucidly in his commentary.¹²³ Thus, the *uttāna* and the *agraha*, the *adhomukha* and the *adhastala*, and the *tryaśra* and *pārśvagata*, make three distinct classes, indicating the upward outward, downward, oblique and sideways direction of the palm and the fingers.

Four other categories are determined by the wrist joint and Bharata terms them as *hasta karaṇa*. All movements of the hands can be classified under these four *karaṇas* which indicate the ways in which the fingers can be manipulated with the palm facing up (*uttāna*) and the palm facing down (*adhomukha*). Thus, if the fingers beginning with the forefinger point inwards gradually, the palm naturally faces downwards; this is called the *āveśṭita* (*karaṇa*) movement. If the palm faces upwards and the fingers beginning with forefinger move (open) outwards (away from the body), then it is the *udveśṭita karaṇa* movement of the hand. The opposite movements beginning with the little finger are termed *vyāvartita* and *parivartita*: in the former the palm faces upwards (*uttāna*) and the hand closes beginning with the little finger pointing towards the body; in the latter the hand gradually opens beginning with the little finger pointing outwards (away from the body) and palm gradually faces either downwards (*adhomukha*) or sideways (*tryaśra*).¹²⁴

Śārṅgadeva in the *Śaṅgitaratnākara* lists fifteen positions of the hands in terms of planes, dimensions and direction of the palms and fingers: he also repeats the four different circular movements of the wrists listed by Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

On the vertical plane, the palm can either face the body or be turned away from it: the fingers can point either up or down; on the horizontal plane the palm can either face up or down, and the fingers can point either out (away from the body) or in (towards the body). This then gives us four basic positions of the palms and four directions of the fingers. On the horizontal plane, thus, when the palm faces upwards, it is termed as the *uttāna*¹²⁴ (lifted up); when it faces down (towards the ground), it is called the *adhomukha*. On the vertical plane, when

the palm faces outwards (away from the body) and the fingers point upward, then it is called the *parāṇmukha* (away from oneself) and, when the palm faces the body, then it is the *svasammukhatala* (palm facing oneself). When the fingers point downwards on the vertical plane then it is *adhovadana*; when the fingers point upwards, whether the palm is *parāṇmukha* or *svasammukha*, then the hand is called *ūrdhvamukha*. Thus the up-down, high and low positions of the palm and the fingers are indicated: the back-front and right-left side positions in space are also indicated in the various oblique positions of the palms and fingers: the *pārśvagata*, *pārśvamukha* and *agratastala* indicate these positions. The *tryaśra* (oblique) position of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *pārśvagata* position of the *Saṅgītaratnākara* are almost identical when the palm faces either to the right or to the left: when the fingers point to the front and there is a forward movement, then it is the *agra* position. To these ten positions are added the five directional movements, and the next five terms relate to these, viz., *ūrdhvaga* (going upwards), *adhogata* (going downwards), *pārśvagata* (going sideways at any high, low or middle level), *agra* (going forward at a high, low or middle level) *sammukhāgata* (coming towards oneself, i.e., right-back, or left-back, or high-back, or down-back). The last five movements have to be understood in terms of not only the palms and the fingers but also the arm movements and the relative stretched and flexed position of the upper and the forearm. In this manner, all the eight main directions in space can be covered by these fifteen movements. We can classify the fifteen into five distinct types: *uttāna*, *ūrdhvamukha* and *ūrdhvaga* belong to one type: *adhomukha*, *adhovadana* and *adhogata* belong to the second; *pārśvagata*, *pārśvamukha* and again *pārśvatomukha* to the third; *agratastala*, *parāṇmukha* and *agra* to the fourth; and *svasammukhatala*, *sammukha* and *sammukhāgata* to the fifth, by virtue of the varying emphasis on the upward, downward, sideways, forward and backward direction of movement.¹²⁵

Closely connected with the movements of the *hastas* are the movement of the arms. Bharata lists twelve movements of the arms, each indicating the level and range of the movement, and the relative position of the upper and the forearm. Abhinavagupta¹²⁶ explains some of the positions, but mostly we have to reconstruct these movements from the terminology of Bharata. *Tiryak* is the middle level and the range is from side to side; *ūrdhvaga* indicates the upward movement at the level of the head; *adhomukha* is the lowering of the arms to the range of the lower limbs and to the ground; *āviddha*, *apaviddha* and *maṇḍala* indicate the different circular patterns of movement in space; *svastika* indicates the crossing of arms at any level of the body; *añcita* and *kuñcita* relate to the position of the extended and flexed forearm when the hands extend out at the level of the chest and return to the area of the chest. The *prasārita prsthaga* indicates the movement of the arms in relation to the thickness of the body, where the arms are stretched out in front and are then taken to the back—either over the shoulders or otherwise. The slightly arched positions of the arms are suggested by the *namra*, *sarala* and

utsārīta movements mentioned by the *Śaṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.¹²⁷ The swinging of the arms is indicated by the *āṇḍolita* and *cālaka* movements. The ten movements of the arm of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the additional six of the *Śaṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* give us a comprehensive treatment of the arm in relation to space.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* does not mention the movements of the wrist separately, even though they are implied in Bharata's treatment of the different types of movements of the palms and the fingers discussed above. The *Śaṅgītaratnākara*¹²⁸, the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* and the *Bālarāmabharata* classify the wrist movement under *maṇibandha*, and the *Śaṅgītaratnākara* enumerates five types of wrist movements, which are repeated by the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*. The *nikuñcita* movement suggests an outward bend at the wrist; the *ākuñcita* is the opposite movement when the wrist is bent inwards; the combination of the outward and inward movement is called *cala*; and the rotative movement is termed as *bhrāmita*, and the normal position is known as *sama*.¹²⁹ The only other part of the upper limbs which has not been dealt with by Bharata is the shoulder. The *Śaṅgītaratnākara*, the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* and the *Bālarāmabharata* describe movements of the shoulder also. The *Śaṅgītaratnākara* lists five movements of the shoulders (*skandha*): these can also be classified into the front-back, up-down, and rotating movements. When the shoulder is pushed in front, it is termed *karnaḷagna*; when it is pushed back with tension, it is called *ekocca*; when it is lifted up, it is *ucchṛta*; and, when it is hung down, it is called *srasta*; and when rotated in a circular movement, it is *lolita*.¹³⁰

The entire arm from the shoulder to the tip of the fingers has been analyzed fully. Indeed the *hastābhinaya*, which forms a comprehensive gesture language, can be fully understood in the light of these related movements of the wrists, arms, and the shoulders, and the manipulation of the fingers and the palms. The classification of the movements of the shoulder (*skanda*), arms (*bāhū*), wrists (*maṇi*), hands (*hastā*) and their *karaṇas* forms an important aspect of the technique of Indian dancing. (See Tables XII-XIV Pp 74-88)

Sthāna (postures)

After an analysis of the movements of the individual limbs, Bharata discusses postures and movements of the entire body. The important subject of *sthāna* is discussed under the category of postures. The *cārī* provides the link between the static positions indicated by the term *sthāna* and cadences of movement denoted by the term *karaṇa*.

Bharata lays an emphasis on the position of the lower limbs in his description of the *sthānas*. He divides them into two categories, i.e., for men and for women. When analyzed, one finds that these *sthānas* indicate static poses for the most

part, i.e. postures which can suggest a particular mood or deity. In keeping with the laws of human anatomy, these associations are worked out on the basis of the distribution of weight and the distance of the feet from each other. Thus Brahmā is the presiding deity of the *samapāda sthāna* where weight is equally divided and all limbs are in the natural position. The extreme opposite in the *sthānas* is the *pratyālīḍha* where a full leg extension is indicated: appropriately the *sthāna* is recommended for suggesting the release of weapons etc. It is also a *sthāna* which is frequently seen in sculpture. The *sthānas* for women, according to Bharata, are only three and they indicate standing positions. An analysis of these *sthānas* has been attempted in Tables XV and XVI. (pp 90-91)

Apart from the postures (*sthāna*) seen in Tables XV and XVI, the *Saṅgītaratnākara* mentions four others for women not mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, namely, *gatāgata*, *valita*, *moṭita* and *vinivartita*. These are derived from the *cārīs* and some *sthānas* for women. The *gatāgata* is a movement rather than a position: this is used by a dancer in proceeding forward: the second, in expressing desire, and the third, in denoting a state of love. *Vinivartita* is the same as the *moṭita* but with the feet position reversed.

The *Abhinayadarpaṇa* does not classify the *cārīs*, *maṇḍalas* and *sthānas*, according to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. It follows a different system of classification. The static positions are termed *maṇḍala* in the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and some of the names correspond with the names of *sthāna* listed by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The postures which it lists under the *sthānas* are not mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and have something in common with some of the *bhāumi* (earthly) *cārīs* enumerated by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. *Āyata*, *ālīḍha*, *pratyālīḍha*¹³¹ are mentioned as *maṇḍalas*; the description of the last two appear to be the same postures as those mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The first, however, has nothing in common with the *āyata* position mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, there is a distance of two and a half *tālas* between the two feet and the posture is *caturśra* (wide open) and the knees are bent: in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* there is no distance between the two feet and one foot is placed in *tryaśra*. The following postures of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* are not found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*: (a) *sthānaka*, *prerita*, *svastika*, *moṭita*, *samasūcī* and *pārśvasūcī maṇḍala*: of these *svastika* and *samasūcī* can be identified with the *sthitāvarta cārī* and the *sūcī cārī* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* but with a slight difference in definition. *Moṭita* and *pārśvasūcī* along with the other two of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are listed in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* under the *deśīsthānakas*; (b) *samapāda*, *ekapāda*, *nāgabandha*, *aindra*, *garuḍa* and *brahma sthānakas* of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* are not mentioned by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* either. Except for *aindra*, the *Saṅgītaratnākara* lists all of them under its *deśīsthānakas*. *Aindra sthānaka* has little in common with the description of the *maṇḍala sthāna* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* even though both these are used to depict the king or Indra.

TABLE
Asaṃyuta hastas

No. <i>Nāṭyaśāstra</i> <i>NŚ</i>	<i>Abhinayadarpaṇa</i> <i>AD</i>	<i>Mirror of Gesture</i> <i>MG</i>	<i>Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha</i> <i>NŚS</i>
1. <i>Patākā</i>	<i>Patākā</i>	<i>Patākā</i>	<i>Patākā</i>
2. <i>Tripatākā</i>	<i>Tripatākā</i> <i>Ardhapatākā</i> (the little finger of the <i>tripatākā</i> is bent)	<i>Tripatākā</i> <i>Ardhapatākā</i>	<i>Tripatākā</i> <i>Ardhapatākā</i> (but quoted separately: not in the main group)
3. <i>Kartarīmukha</i>	<i>Kartarīmukha</i> but de- rived from the <i>ardha-</i> <i>patākā</i>	<i>Kartarīmukha</i> but derived from the <i>ardhapatākā</i>	<i>Kartarīmukha</i>
4. <i>Ardhacandra</i> (all fingers bent to make a bow)	<i>Ardhacandra</i> derived from the <i>patākā</i> by stretching the thumb	As in <i>AD</i>	<i>Ardhacandra</i> as in <i>AD</i>
5. <i>Arāla</i>	<i>Arāla</i>	As in <i>AD</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
6. <i>Śukatunḍa</i> derived from the <i>arāla</i>	<i>Śukatunḍa</i> derived from the <i>arāla</i> of <i>AD</i>	As in <i>AD</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
7. <i>Muṣṭi</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i> slight variation	As in <i>AD</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
8. <i>Śikhara</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>

XII

(single hands)

<i>Hastalakṣṇa Dīpikā HLD</i>	<i>Hastamuktāvali HM</i>	<i>Śaṅgītaratnākara SR</i>	<i>Bālarāmabharata BB</i>	in Iconography
<i>Tripatākā</i>	<i>Patākā</i>	<i>Patākā</i>	<i>Patākā</i>	As <i>abhaya</i> and <i>vara- da mudrā</i>
<i>Patākā Kapittha</i> (except for the thumb position)	<i>Tripatākā</i> No, but the variation of the <i>kartarīmukha</i> is the <i>kapittha</i> of the <i>HM</i>	<i>Tripatākā</i>	<i>Tripatākā</i> <i>Ardhapatākā</i>	Used in sculpture specially later South Indian bronzes Frequently used spe- cially where imple- ments are held
<i>Śikhara</i> — but the thumb posi- tion is different	<i>Kartarīmukha</i> two varieties are described: one is derived from the <i>tripatākā</i>	<i>Kartarīmukha</i>	<i>Kartarīmukha</i> derived from the <i>tripatākā</i>	<i>Kartarīhasta</i> occurs often in South In- dian bronzes and is mentioned in South Indian texts
<i>Haṁsapakṣa</i> as in <i>AD</i>	<i>Ardhacandra</i> as in <i>NŚ</i> a variation also given which is the <i>ardhacandra</i> of the <i>HLD</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>AD</i>	Both types seen; <i>AD</i> type seen in the <i>abhaya</i> and <i>varada mudrās</i> ; also, the other in the holding of <i>agni</i> etc.
<i>Bhramara</i>	As in <i>AD</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>AD</i>	The <i>NŚ arāla</i> is fairly common
	As in <i>AD</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>AD</i>	Used but not fre- quently
Same and its variant <i>kaṭakā- mukha</i> where thumb position is different	As in <i>AD</i>	As in <i>AD</i>		Used often though the fingers are not so closely fisted
Does not occur	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	Hand used for hold- ing weapons (Continued)

No.	<i>NŚ</i>	<i>AD</i>	<i>MG</i>	<i>NŚS</i>
9. <i>Kapittha</i>		As in <i>NŚ</i> but position of fore- finger different	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
10. <i>Kaṭakāmukha</i>		As in <i>NŚ</i> but <i>Bharatanāṭyam</i> practice different and finger position varies	<i>Kaṭakāmukha</i> but made by the forefinger and the middle finger touch- ing the thumb	As in <i>NŚ</i>
11. <i>Sūcī mukha</i>		As in <i>NŚ</i> but with variation	Derived from its own <i>kaṭakāmukha</i> by rai- sing the forefinger	As in <i>NŚ</i>
12. <i>Padmakōṣa</i>		As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
13. <i>Sarpaśīras</i>		As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i> derived from the <i>patākā</i>
14. <i>Mṛgaśīrṣa</i>		As in <i>NŚ</i> <i>Simhamukh</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i> As in <i>AD</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i> derived from <i>sarpaśīras</i> As in <i>AD</i> but quoted separately
15. <i>Kāṅgula</i>		Derived from the <i>padmakōṣa</i> by bend- ing third finger	<i>Tāṅgula</i> as in <i>AD</i> a variation similar to <i>kāṅgula</i> of <i>NŚ</i> also described	As in <i>NŚ</i>
16. <i>Alapadma</i> (<i>alapallava</i>)		<i>Alapadma</i>	<i>Solapadma</i> , <i>alapad-</i> <i>ma</i> and <i>alapallava</i> all three names used	<i>Alapallava</i> for the outward movement and <i>alapadma</i> for the inward movement of the fingers

XII (Contd.)

<i>HLD</i>	<i>HM</i>	<i>SR</i>	<i>BB</i>	in Iconography
Not mentioned in the <i>HLD</i> but occasionally used in <i>Kathākali</i>	As in <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i> variation derived from the <i>tri-linga hasta</i>	Occurs but as a variant of the <i>muṣṭi</i>
<i>Kaṭaka</i> : the position of the thumb and the forefinger varies: the ring finger and the little finger same	Same as in <i>MG</i> with slight variation of the fingers	As in <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i> derived from the <i>kapittha</i> , slight difference in fingers	<i>Kaṭaka</i> or <i>simhakarāṇa hasta</i> but more like the <i>kaṭaka</i> and <i>kapittha</i> of <i>NS</i> with several variations
<i>Sūcī mukha</i> but position of the ring finger and the little finger different	Same with variation of the position of the ring and little fingers which are spread out here	Similar to the <i>NS hasta</i> description slightly different	Derived from the <i>sikhara</i> and used in <i>Bharat-nāṭyam</i> etc.	Common and used with the same name; also known as <i>tar-jani hasta</i>
	Similar with slight difference	As in <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i> but derived from the <i>ūrṇanābha</i>	Occurs occasionally
As in <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i>	Very rarely
Not listed <i>Mṛgaśīrṣa</i> also <i>mukura</i> a variation by changing the thumb position	As in <i>NS</i> but not derived from the <i>sarpa-śīrṣas</i> <i>Kṛṣṇasāramukha</i> is the <i>simhamukha</i> of the <i>AD</i>	As in <i>NS</i> Not listed	As in <i>NS</i> <i>Simhāsya</i> but this is related to the <i>catura</i>	Rarely
Not mentioned	No: the <i>kāṅgula</i> of <i>HM</i> is the <i>haṁsāsya</i> of <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i>	As <i>gāṅgula</i> which is derived from the <i>haṁsāsya</i>	Rarely
Does not occur in <i>HLD</i> but fairly common in <i>Kathākali</i>	<i>Alapadma</i>	<i>Alapallava</i>	<i>Alapallava</i> occurs often and is derived from the <i>padmakōśa</i> ; slight difference in finger position	Seen often

(Continued)

No.	<i>NŚ</i>	<i>AD</i>	<i>MG</i>	<i>NŚS</i>
17.	<i>Catura</i>	<i>Catura</i>	<i>Catura</i>	Two variations, one is the <i>catura</i> of the <i>NŚ</i> , the other is derived from the <i>sarpaśīras hasta</i>
18.	<i>Bhramara</i>	<i>Bhramara</i>	<i>Bhramara</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i> but with the slight variations of the position of the thumb and middle fingers
19.	<i>Haṁsāśya</i>	Found in a variation of the <i>AD kaṭakā-mukha</i> the <i>haṁsāśya</i> of <i>AD</i> is the <i>sanda-mśa</i> of <i>NŚ</i>	Two variations—one is the <i>mudrākhyā</i> of <i>HLD</i> , the other is same as in <i>NŚ</i> , with slight variation of the positions of the second and third fingers which are extended here	<i>Haṁsāśya</i> as in <i>NŚ</i>
20.	<i>Haṁsapakṣa</i>	<i>Haṁsapakṣa</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i> but derived from the <i>sarpaśīras</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i> but with slight variation of the finger positions
21.	<i>Sandaṁśa</i> derived from <i>arāla</i>	<i>Sandaṁśa</i> as in <i>MG haṁsāśya</i> ; also with variation of the forefinger position	<i>Sandaṁśa</i> —but quite different from the <i>NŚ</i> ; the fingers of the <i>padmakōśa</i> opened and closed; also see <i>haṁsāśya</i> of <i>AD</i>	All the three <i>NŚ</i> positions listed
22.	<i>Mukula</i>	<i>Mukula</i>	<i>Mukula</i>	<i>Mukula</i>
23.	<i>Ūrṇanābha</i>	Does not occur	<i>Ūrṇanābha</i>	<i>Ūrṇanābha</i>
24.	<i>Tāmracūḍa</i> two variations—first a variation of <i>bhramara</i> , the second derived from the <i>muṣṭi</i>	<i>Tāmracūḍa</i> variety	<i>Tāmracūḍa</i> derived from the <i>mukula</i> —with no definite thumb position given; occurs also as <i>bāṇa</i> , with slight variation	<i>Tāmracūḍa</i> Two varieties mentioned, second akin to the <i>MG bāṇa</i>

XII (Contd.)

<i>HLD</i>	<i>HM</i>	<i>SR</i>	<i>BB</i>	in Iconography
<i>Pallava</i> which is a variation of <i>catura</i>	<i>Catura</i>	<i>Catura</i>	<i>Catura</i> but derived from the <i>mṛgaśirṣa</i>	Occurs often in the <i>dhyāna mudra</i>
Not mentioned	<i>Calanmadhukara</i> and the <i>bhramara</i> of <i>HM</i> : has the fore-finger extended	As in <i>NŚ</i>	<i>Bhramara</i> but the position of the third and little finger varies—it is derived from the <i>padamkoṣa</i>	Occurs often
<i>Haṁsāsya</i>	<i>Kāṅgula</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i> but derived from the <i>siṁhāsya</i>	Occurs often where hands hold attributes
<i>Kartarīmukha</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i> with slight variations	As in <i>NŚ</i> , slight variation and derived from the <i>patākā</i>	As in <i>MG</i> derived from the <i>sarpaśīras</i>	Rarely
<i>Mudrākhyā</i> , slight difference in position of fingers as <i>arāla</i> and <i>vardhamāna</i>	<i>Sandamsa</i> as in <i>NŚ</i> ; only one variation	As in <i>NŚ</i> ; all three variations are derived from <i>arāla</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i> but derived from <i>haṁsāsya</i>	Occurs often
<i>Mukula</i> <i>Urṇanābha</i>	<i>Mukula</i> <i>Ūrṇanāāha</i>	<i>Mukula</i> <i>Ūrṇanābha</i>	<i>Mukula</i> <i>Ūrṇanābha</i>	Occurs often Occurs when round objects like the ball etc. are held
<i>Śukatunḍa</i>	<i>Tāmracūḍa</i> derived from the <i>muṣṭi</i> ; the finger positions differ; also occurs as <i>aṅkuśa</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i> with varieties listed, the little finger position in the second variation differs from <i>NŚ</i>	<i>Tāmracūḍa</i> but derived from the <i>kāṅgula</i> of the <i>BB</i> like the first variety of <i>NŚ</i>	Rarely

APPENDIX TO TABLE XII

Asamīyuta hastas in the Abhinayadarpaṇa, the Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, the Bālarāmabharata, etc., but not mentioned in the Nāṭyaśāstra

<i>Abhinayadarpaṇa and Mirror of Gesture</i>	<i>Hastālakṣaṇa Dīpikā</i>	<i>Hastamuktāvalī</i>	<i>Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅ- graha and Bālarāma- bharata</i>
<i>Mayūra</i>	Not in <i>HLD</i> but occurs in <i>Kathākali</i>		<i>Mayūra</i>
<i>Candrakalā</i>	<i>Ardhacandra</i>		<i>Candrakalā</i> as in <i>AD</i>
<i>Triśūla</i>	No: but occurs in <i>Kathākali</i>		In <i>NSS</i> same as in <i>AD</i> ; in <i>BB</i> as <i>puron- nata hasta</i>
<i>Vyāghra Ardhasūcī</i>		<i>Simhāsya ghronika</i> variation of <i>padmakōśa</i> <i>tantrimukha</i>	<i>Tantrimukha</i>

The *Bālarāmabharata* mentions the following *asamīyuta hastas* which are not mentioned by another authority:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>Kuṭilahasta</i> | derived from the <i>kapittha</i> |
| 2. <i>Bālacandrahasta</i> | derived from the <i>sūcī</i> |
| 3. <i>Nirīkṣaṇa hasta</i> | derived from the <i>bāṇa</i> (see <i>AD</i> <i>bāṇa</i>) |
| 4. <i>Pralamba hasta</i> | derived from the <i>bālacandra</i> , and becomes a variation of the <i>mayūra</i> of the <i>AD</i> |
| 5. <i>Caturunnata hasta</i> | derived from the <i>patākā</i> |
| 6. <i>Pūrṇacandra hasta</i> | variation of the <i>caturunnata</i> also derived from the <i>patākā</i> |
| 7. <i>Śilīmukha hasta</i> | similar to the <i>AD sandamśa</i> but with difference in finger position |
| 8. <i>Udeṣṭita</i> | derived from the <i>alapallava</i> |
| 9. <i>Apaveṣṭita</i> | variation of the <i>candrakalā</i> of <i>AD</i> but 8, 9 of <i>BB</i> refer to directions really |
| 10. <i>Bhadrahasta</i> | derived from the <i>simhamukha hasta</i> |

TABLE XIII

Saṁyuta hasta (both hands)

Nāṭyaśāstra NŚ	Abhinayadarpaṇa AD	Mirror of Gesture MG	Nāṭyaśāstra Saṁgraha NŚS	Hastamuktā- vali HM	Saṅgitaratnā- kara SR	Bālarāma- bharata BB
1. <i>Añjali</i>	As in NŚ	As in NŚ	As in NŚ	As in NŚ	As in NŚ	As in NŚ
2. <i>Kapota</i>	As in NŚ	As in NŚ	As in NŚ	As in NŚ	As in NŚ	As in NŚ: but derived from the <i>sarpaśīrṣa</i>
3. <i>Karkaṭa</i>	As in NŚ	As in NŚ	As in NŚ	As in NŚ	As in NŚ	<i>Karkaṭa</i> : but derived from its <i>pūrṇacandra</i>
4. <i>Svastika</i> (two <i>arāla</i> hands crossing)	<i>Svastika</i> but crossing of <i>patākā</i> <i>hastas</i>	As in AD	As in NŚ but mentions the AD version; also gives the <i>svastika</i> of <i>tri- patākā</i> and <i>ar- dhapatākā</i>	As in NŚ	As in NŚ	As in AD with variation
5. <i>Kaṭakāvardha</i> <i>mānaka</i>	Same name but made from AD <i>kaṭaka</i>	As in AD but with slight variation	As in NŚ	As in NŚ	As in NŚ	Hands as in NŚ but calls it <i>kaṭa- kāvarta</i>
6. <i>Utsaṅga</i> (from <i>arāla</i> <i>hastas</i>)	<i>Utsaṅga</i> but from <i>mṛgaśīrṣa</i> <i>hastas</i> placed on oppo- site shoulders	As in AD	As in NŚ but also gives the <i>sarpaśīrṣa</i> vari- ety of SR	As in NŚ but with differ- ence in plac- ing of hands As in NŚ	As in NŚ; also made from <i>sarpaśīr- ṣa hasta</i>	As in SR: from <i>sarpaśīrṣa hasta</i>
7. <i>Niṣadha</i>	<i>Niṣadha</i> but it is like the <i>var- dhamāṇa</i> of the NŚ		<i>Niṣadha</i> but like the <i>vardhamāṇa</i> of NŚ and not the <i>niṣadha</i> of NŚ		As in NŚS but also describes <i>saṁyuta hasta</i> similar to the NŚ <i>niṣadha</i>	<i>Tāḍanapatākā</i> comes nearest to the NŚ <i>niṣadha</i>

(Continued)

TABLE XIII (Contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
8. <i>Dola</i> (movement and position both)	As in <i>NS</i> but hands positions different	As in <i>NS</i> hands position different	As in <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i> but hand position different	As in <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i>
9. <i>Puṣpapuṣa</i> from <i>sarpaśī-rṣa hasta</i>	As in <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i>	<i>Puṣpapuṣa</i> made from <i>sarpaśīrṣa hasta</i> but the little fingers clasp As in <i>NS</i> but made from its <i>ardhacandra</i>
10. <i>Makara</i> with <i>patākā hasta</i>	Called <i>matsya</i>	As in <i>AD</i> also gives <i>makara</i> with <i>ardhacandra hastas</i>	As in <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i>	
11. <i>Gajadanta</i> —from <i>sarpaśī-rṣa</i>	Not mentioned	As in <i>NS</i> enumerated separately	As in <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i> but hand position different	As in <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i> but derived from <i>ardhacandra</i> As in <i>NS</i>
12. <i>Avahittha</i> from <i>śukatuṇḍa hastas</i>	Not mentioned	As in <i>NS</i> also mentions another variety with <i>alapadma hastas</i>	As in <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i>	As in <i>NS</i>	
13. <i>Vardhamāna</i> i) <i>mukula</i> hand clasped by <i>kapittha</i> and ii) <i>hamṣapakṣa hastas</i>	Not listed	<i>Vardhamāna</i> with <i>hamṣapakṣa hastas</i> ; the <i>niṣedha</i> of <i>MG</i> like (i) of <i>NS</i>	<i>Niṣadha</i> of <i>NS</i> is <i>vardhamāna</i> of <i>NS</i> ; <i>vardhamāna</i> of <i>NS</i> (ii), but with <i>svastika</i> position of <i>hamṣapakṣa hasta</i>	<i>Vardhamāna</i> but made from <i>mṛgaśīrṣa hastas</i>	As in <i>NS</i> (ii) and from <i>svastika</i> position	As in <i>NS</i> (ii) and <i>SR</i> positions

Of these, numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9 and 13 often occur in Iconography.

Saṃyuta hastas not mentioned in *NŚ*

<i>AD and MG</i>	<i>NŚS</i>	<i>BB</i>
1. <i>Śivaliṅga</i>	As in <i>AD</i>	
2. <i>Kartarīsvastika</i>	Mentions it in a supplementary list	As in <i>AD</i>
3. <i>Śakaṭa</i>	As in <i>AD</i>	
4. <i>Śaṅkha</i>	As in <i>AD</i>	
5. <i>Cakra</i>	As in <i>AD tilaka hasta</i> (<i>tripatākā</i> on forehead and chest)	
6. <i>Sampuṭa</i>	As in <i>AD kalaśa</i> when <i>ardhacandra hastas</i> are brought together	
7. <i>Pāśa</i>	As in <i>AD</i>	
8. <i>Kīlaka</i>	As in <i>AD</i>	<i>Śubhaśobha</i> but derived from the <i>muṣṭi</i> ; the position of the little finger same
9. <i>Matsya</i>	As in <i>AD</i> : also called <i>makara</i>	<i>BB</i> mentions the following extra <i>saṃyuta hastas</i> : <i>upacāra hasta</i> , <i>abhayavarada hasta</i> , <i>bhāratī hasta</i> , <i>kalaha hasta</i> , <i>padmamukula hasta</i> , <i>mallayuddha hasta</i> , <i>gajādanta</i> and <i>saṃyuta pallava hasta</i>
10. <i>Kūrma</i>	As in <i>AD</i>	
11. <i>Varāha</i>	As in <i>AD</i>	
12. <i>Garuḍa</i>	<i>AD garuḍa hasta</i> and also <i>vaiṣṇava hasta</i>	
13. <i>Nāgabandha</i>	As in <i>AD</i>	
14. <i>Khaṭva</i>		
15. <i>Bheruṇḍa</i>		

APPENDIX TO TABLE XIII

Samyuta hasta

The *samyuta hastas* as listed in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, the *Mirror of Gesture*, the *Hastāmuktāvali*, the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, the *Nāṭyśāstra Saṅgraha* and the *Bālarāmabharata* have a great deal in common with each other; the *Hastalakṣaṇa Dīpikā* has a different basis of analyzing the *samyuta hastas*; this has not been discussed here. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, etc. each *asamyuta hasta* has its *samyuta hasta* and its usage (*vinīyoga*) is discussed. There is also some overlapping between the *samyuta hastas* and the *nṛtta hastas*. Some of the *hastas* appearing as *samyuta hastas* in some texts are listed as *nṛtta hastas* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Tables XIII and XIV give an idea of the *samyuta* and *nṛtta hastas*.

TABLE XIV
Nṛtta hastas

<i>Nāṭyaśāstra</i> NŚ	<i>Mirror of Gesture</i> (does not list them as <i>nṛtta hastas</i> but they are mentioned)	<i>Nāṭyaśāstra</i> <i>Saṅgraha</i> NŚS	<i>Saṅgīta-</i> <i>ratnākara</i> SR	* <i>Bālarāma-</i> <i>bharata</i> BB	** in Iconography
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. <i>Caturaśra</i>	As in NŚ	As in NŚ	As in NŚ		Found in dance poses of sculpture
2. <i>Udvṛtta</i>	As in NŚ slight variation	As in NŚ variation in position	As in NŚ		
3. <i>Talamukha</i>	As in NŚ	As in NŚ	As in NŚ		
4. <i>Svastika</i>	As in NŚ but made from <i>tripātāka</i>	As in NŚ from <i>hañ-</i> <i>sapakṣa hastas</i>	As in NŚ from <i>hañ-</i> <i>sapakṣa</i>		Seen occasionally
<i>Viprakīrṇa</i>	As in NŚ	<i>Viprakīrṇa</i>	<i>Viprakīrṇa</i>		
5. <i>Arālakataṭakā-</i> <i>mukha</i>	As in NŚ	As in NŚ	As in NŚ		Often, specially the <i>alapadma</i> open hands position
6. <i>Āviddhavakra</i>	<i>Āviddhavakra</i>	As in NŚ	As in NŚ		
7. <i>Sūcīmukha</i> (in some versions the <i>hasta</i> is from <i>sarpaśīrṣa</i>)	<i>Sūcyāśya</i> as in NŚ but from <i>sūci-</i> <i>hastas</i>	Called <i>sūcīmukha</i> but derived from <i>sarpaśīrṣa</i>	<i>Sūcyāśya</i> as in NŚ derived from <i>sar-</i> <i>paśīrṣa hastas</i>		<i>Sūcīmukha</i> with its varieties seen often: see <i>asamṛyuta hastas</i> also
8. <i>Recita</i>	As in NŚ	As in NŚ	As in NŚ		
9. <i>Ardharecita</i>	Slight variations	As in NŚ	As in NŚ		

(Continued)

TABLE XIV (Contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
10. <i>Uttānvañcita</i>	—	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>		First position of movement sometimes occasionally
11. <i>Pallava</i>	—	<i>Pallava</i> as in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>		
12. <i>Nitamba</i>	<i>Nitamba</i>	<i>Nitamba</i> as in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>		
13. <i>Keśabandha</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>		
14. <i>Latā</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	<i>Latā</i> as in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>		See <i>dola hasta</i> occurs often as <i>lola hasta</i> and as <i>kaṭyav-alambita hasta</i>
15. <i>Karihasta</i>	—	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i> with <i>tripatākā</i> and <i>kaṭak-āmukha</i>		Represented very often in dance sculpture
16. <i>Pakṣavañcita</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>		
17. <i>Pakṣapradyo-taka</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>		
18. <i>Daṇḍapakṣa</i>		As in <i>NŚ</i> <i>garuḍamaṇḍala</i> (also an <i>asamīyuta hasta</i> of the <i>MG</i>)	As in <i>NŚ</i> as in <i>MG</i> <i>garuḍa-pakṣa</i> but derived from <i>tripatākā</i>		Occurs as <i>daṇḍa-hasta</i> but the <i>patākā</i> and not the <i>hamṣapakṣa hasta</i> is utilized

19. <i>Ūrdhvaṃaṇḍali</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
20. <i>Pārśvaṃaṇḍali</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
21. <i>Uromaṇḍali</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
22. <i>Uraḥpārśva- maṇḍali</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i> but termed <i>uraḥpārśvārd-haṃaṇḍali</i>
23. <i>Muṣṭikasvastika</i> (from <i>kaṭakā</i> and <i>muṣṭi</i>)	Seen in <i>NŚ</i> but made from <i>muṣṭi</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i> <i>svastika</i> can be made from <i>arāla</i> or <i>alapal-lava</i> : also with <i>kaṭakāmukha</i> , <i>muṣ-ṭi</i> and <i>kapittha</i>
24. <i>Nalinipadma-kośa</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
25. <i>Alapallava</i>	<i>Udvestitāpadma</i> slight variation in position	<i>Alapadma</i> as in <i>Alapallava</i>
<i>Ulbana</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>
26. <i>Lalita</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i>

TABLE XIV (Contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
27. <i>Valita</i>		As in <i>NŚ jñāna-</i> <i>hasta</i>	As in <i>NŚ</i> <i>abhaya</i> and <i>varada</i> mentioned	As in <i>NŚ</i> <i>Nikuñcika abhaya</i> and <i>varada</i> of iconography also mentioned	

**BB* divides the earlier *asaṃyuta* and *saṃyuta* *hastas* into *Pullīṅga* (masculine), *Strīlīṅga* (feminine) and *Napunsakalīṅga* (neuter) but does not enumerate the *nṛīta* *hastas* and lays down like the *AD* that the two types of *hastas* can be used for *nṛīta* *hastas* also.

**The iconographical *vismayahasta*, the *nidrita hasta*, the *kaṭi hasta* and the *dhanudhāri hasta* not mentioned in the *NŚ*.

The *Saṅgītaratnākara* follows the *Nāṭyaśāstra* closely in the names and description of *cārīs* and *sthānas*, but indicates one other type of classification of the latter which is not found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, even though most of the movements and postures described can be found in the descriptions of different types of gaits described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in Chapter XII. Śārṅgadeva makes three categories, viz., the *deśīsthānaka*, *upviṣṭasthānaka* and *suptasthānaka*. He lists twenty-three postures in the first category, nine in the second and six in the third.

Of the twenty-three of the first category, about eight are in common with either the *maṇḍala* or the *sthānakas* of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*; these have been mentioned above; the other fifteen with the exception of the *caturaśra* are not found either in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* or the *Abhinayadarpaṇa*: the *caturaśra sthānaka* of the *Saṅgītaratnākara* is the same as described by Bharata, when he speaks of the *saṁsthāva* and *caturaśra* of the body.¹³² The other fourteen are¹³³ *vardhamāna*, *nandyāvarta*, *saṁhata*, *prsthottānata*, *pārṣṇividdha*, *pārṣṇipārśvagata*, *ekapārśvagata*, *ekajānūnata*, *parāvṛtta*, *viṣamasūci*, *khaṇḍasūci*, *śaiva*, *kūrmāsana* and *vṛṣabhāsana*.

The nine sitting postures correspond closely to the sitting postures (*āsana*) described by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*,¹³⁴ but the latter does not give them any specific names. The nine types of sitting postures relate both to the moods they must represent and to the position of the limbs. Thus, *svastha*, *jānugata*, *muktajānu* and *vimukta* denote the limb position, and *madālasā*, *krānta*, *viṣkambhita*, *utkata* and *srastālasa* relate to the mood, and are used for representing sorrow, intoxication, offering libation, *dhyāna* yoga, state of fainting, etc., respectively. In the last five, the position of all the limbs, such as the chest, waist, eyes, is described; in the first, only the position and movement of the lower limbs is described.

The sleeping or reclining postures described in the *Saṅgītaratnākara* under the *suptasthāna* are faithful repetitions from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, where also six reclining postures are described.¹³⁵ They are *ākuñcita*, *sama*, *prasārīta*, *vivartita*, *udvāhita* and *nata*.

TABLE XV

Sthāna (postures for men)¹³⁶

<i>Sthāna</i>	Feet	Other limbs	Associated deity and <i>karāṇa</i>
1. <i>Vaiṣṇava</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>śamapāda</i> (ii) in <i>tryaśra</i> position. Two <i>tālas</i> apart	Shank bent in <i>nata</i> , the term used is <i>añcita</i> . Other limbs in <i>śauṣṭhava</i>	Two types: is used for <i>śṛṅgāra</i> and <i>vīra rasa</i> . Viṣṇu presiding deity
2. <i>Samapāda</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>śamapāda</i> (ii). One <i>tāla</i> apart	Natural position; <i>śauṣṭhava</i> of limbs	Presiding deity Brahmā
3. <i>Vaiśākha</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>śamapāda</i> (ii) but both feet in <i>tryaśra</i> with toes pointing sideways, and two <i>tālas</i> and a half apart	The thighs motionless in <i>stambhana</i> . The verse also suggests an open leap off the ground	<i>Skanda</i> presiding deity. <i>Vaiśākha recita</i> , <i>karāṇa</i> and <i>aṅgahāra</i> derived from this position
4. <i>Maṇḍala</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> feet or placed in <i>tryaśra</i> (pointing sideways) but four <i>tālas</i> apart	<i>Kaṭi</i> and <i>jānu</i> in natural position	Indra presiding deity. <i>Maṇḍala svastika karāṇa</i> derived from this
5. <i>Ālīḍha</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> feet in <i>tryaśra</i> , but one foot drawn five <i>tālas</i> apart, i.e., complete extension of one leg	The left knee slightly bent towards the side	Rudra presiding deity. To be used in <i>vīra</i> and <i>bhayānaka-rasa</i> : <i>ālīḍha aṅgahāra</i> derived from this
6. <i>Pratyālīḍha</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> feet in <i>tryaśra</i> placing, but sometimes one foot is in <i>kuñcita</i>	One knee in <i>kṣipta</i> position	Used in throwing weapons etc. commonly represented in sculpture

TABLE XVI

Sthāna (postures for women)¹³⁷

<i>Sthāna</i>	Feet and position etc.	Other limbs	Associated <i>karana</i> or deity etc.
1. <i>Āyata</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) and (ii), but second foot placed in <i>tryaśra</i> ; no distance between the feet. Right foot <i>samapāda</i> , left <i>tryaśra</i>	<i>Kaṭi</i> raised in <i>unnata</i> . The movement is really of the left side (<i>pārśva</i>). Hands in <i>latā</i> according to <i>SR</i>	Used in dance often: frequently referred to in literature and seen in sculpture
2. <i>Avahittha</i>	Left foot <i>samapāda</i> and right foot in <i>tryaśra</i> position; the reverse of positions in the <i>āyata</i>	As in <i>āyata</i> left side raised in <i>unnata</i>	Presiding deity is Durga
3. <i>Aśvagrānta</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>sūcī</i> (ii) also <i>agratalasañcara</i> : the second foot is lifted up, thus the knee is bent		Used for catching hold of a branch of a tree, plucking a cluster of flowers, etc., seen often in sculpture. Bhārati is presiding deity

TABLE XVII

*Bhaumi cārī*¹³⁸ (earthly *cārī*)

<i>Bhaumi</i> (earthly)	<i>Pāda</i> (foot)	Position and distance of the lower limbs	Knees or Thighs (<i>ūrū</i>) shanks (<i>jānu</i>) and <i>jaṅghā</i> etc.	Associated <i>karāṇa</i> and/or <i>maṇḍala</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
				(6)
1. <i>Samapādā</i>	<i>Samapādā</i> (i) " (ii)	Close together, toes facing front (posture)		<i>Samanakha AD</i> , <i>sam- apāda sthāna</i> similar
2. <i>Sthitāvarī</i>	<i>Samapādā</i> (i) <i>Agratāla- sañcara</i> (ii)	<i>Svastika</i> (crossing) with no distance (posture)	<i>Jānu</i> also cross	The <i>AD svastika maṇḍala</i> —similar
3. <i>Śakatāsyā</i>	<i>Samapādā</i> (i) <i>Agratāla- sañcara</i> (ii)	The <i>agratālasañcara</i> foot put forward at a distance of about 2 <i>tālas</i> (posture)		<i>Udvāhita</i> (chest move- ment)
4. <i>Adhyardhikā</i>	<i>Samapādā</i> (i) <i>Añcita</i> (ii)	<i>Tāla</i> and a half apart: side- ways direction: a movement ending in a posture is indi- cated	<i>nata</i>	<i>Adhyardha maṇḍala</i>
5. <i>Cāṣgati</i>	<i>Samapādā</i> (i) " (ii)	A slight jump; first right foot moved front and back and then left foot back and front (one <i>tāla</i> distance) (movement)		<i>Cāṣgati maṇḍala</i>

6. <i>Vicyavā</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) ” (ii)	The description indicates a movement: a jump from the <i>samapāda</i> feet is suggested, the feet touch the ground in the final position as <i>kuñcita</i>	
7. <i>Elakākriḍitā</i>	<i>Agratala- sañcara</i> (i) ” (ii)	<i>Utaplava</i> —jumping on toes (movement)	<i>Elakākriḍita karaṇa</i> and <i>maṇḍala</i>
8. <i>Baddhā</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) ” (ii)	<i>Svastika</i> position of the shanks and thighs	Used in several <i>karaṇas</i>
9. <i>Ūrūdvṛttā</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>Agratala- sañcara</i> (ii)	<i>Agratalasañcara</i> foot pointing sideways at a little distance from the other foot	<i>Udvartana</i> (rising up, tense position but no lack of contact with ground) <i>Ūrūdvṛtta karaṇa</i>
10. <i>Aḍḍitā</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>Agratala- sañcara</i> (ii)	<i>Agratalasañcara</i> foot rubs against the side of the <i>samapāda</i> foot	<i>Aḍḍita maṇḍala</i>
11. <i>Utsyanditā</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) ” (ii)	Moving sideways: in a criss-cross manner <i>recaka</i> (movement)	
12. <i>Janitā</i>	<i>Agratala- sañcara</i> (i) ” (ii)	Feet two <i>tālas</i> apart	<i>Janita karaṇa</i>

(Continued)

TABLE XVII (Contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
13. <i>Syanditā</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) " (ii)	Five <i>tālas</i> apart both feet used for various <i>sthānas</i> like <i>ālīdha</i> , <i>pratyālīdha</i> (posture)	Tense position		
14. <i>Apasyanditā</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) " (ii)	Reverse of the <i>spandita</i> (posture)			<i>Āskanḍita maṇḍala</i>
15. <i>Samotsarita-mattali</i>	<i>Agratāla-sañcara</i> (i) " (ii)	Circular movement of the lifted leg and a movement indicating going back	<i>Nata</i>		<i>Samotsarita maṇḍala</i>
16. <i>Mattali</i>	<i>Agratāla-sañcara</i> (i) " (ii)	<i>Svastika</i> and going back in a circular movement without lifting of the lower leg	Half crossing of the legs and then proceeding backwards	Hands <i>udveṣṭita</i>	<i>Mattali (karaṇa)</i>

TABLE XVIII

*Ākāśiki cārī*¹³⁹ (aerial *cārī*)

<i>Ākāśiki cārīs</i>	<i>Pāda</i> (foot)	Position, movement and distance	Knees and thighs	Other limbs	Associated <i>karāṇas</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. <i>Atikrāntā</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>Kuñcita</i> (ii)	<i>Kuñcita</i> foot taken up to the knee level approximately and then placed forward four <i>tālas</i> . (movement)	<i>Nata jānu</i>		<i>Atikrānta karāṇa</i> and <i>maṇḍala</i> ; used in several <i>karāṇas</i>
2. <i>Apakrāntā</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>Kuñcita</i> (ii)	From the <i>valana</i> of the thighs <i>kuñcita</i> foot taken sideways. Derived from the <i>baddhā-cārī</i> (movement)	<i>Valana</i> of thighs (<i>ūrū</i>)		<i>Apakrānta</i>
3. <i>Pārsvakraṇtā</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>Kuñcita</i> (ii)	The <i>kuñcita</i> foot is lifted with the knees pointing sideways: the foot is brought to the thigh level and then dropped to the ground, with the heel touching the floor	<i>Kṣipta</i> position of the knee which is lifted		<i>Pārsvajānu</i>
4. <i>Ūrdhvajānu</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>Kuñcita</i> (ii)	The <i>kuñcita</i> foot is lifted as in <i>pārsvakraṇtā</i> but higher, and the movement is repeated by both feet	<i>Kṣipta</i> both knees		<i>Ūrdhvajānu</i>

(Continued)

TABLE XVIII (Contd.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
5. <i>Sūcī</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>Kuñcita</i> (ii)	<i>Kuñcita</i> foot lifted in front and brought to knee level, the leg there is stretched at that level and then the foot is lowered and the toes again touch the floor	<i>Udvāhita jaṅghā</i>		<i>Sūcī, ardhasūcī</i> and <i>sūcividdham karaṇa</i> and <i>sūcividdha ma-ṇḍala</i>
6. <i>Nūpurapadikā</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>Añcita</i> (ii)	An <i>añcita</i> foot is lifted and then taken to the back of the opposite thigh and finally the toes touch the ground	<i>Udvāhita</i> or <i>parivarita</i>		<i>Nūpura</i>
7. <i>Dolapādā</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>Kuñcita</i> (ii)	<i>Kuñcita</i> foot lifted to its own side, moved and then touching the ground as an <i>añcita</i> foot: two <i>tālas</i> difference approximately.	<i>Udvāhita</i> or <i>kṣipta</i>		<i>Dolapādā</i>
8. <i>Akṣiptā</i>	<i>Kuñcita</i> (i) <i>Añcita</i> (ii)	A <i>kuñcita</i> foot is lifted and then crosses the other leg and in the final position an <i>añcita</i> foot is placed three <i>tālas</i> apart	<i>Kṣipta</i> (knees)	<i>Svastika</i> of thighs	<i>Akṣipta</i> and <i>ākṣipta recita karaṇas</i> and also an <i>aṅgahāra</i> by the same name
9. <i>Aviddhā</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>Kuñcita</i> (ii) and <i>añcita</i>	Initial position <i>svastika</i> : the <i>kuñcita</i> foot lifted from this position, stretched and touches the ground as <i>añcita</i> in final position on its own side	<i>Udvāhita</i> or <i>parivṛtta</i>		

10. <i>Udvṛttā</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>Kuñcita</i> (ii)	Derived from the <i>āviddha cārī</i> , its <i>kuñcita</i> foot is stretched and then touches the ground. A slight jump and turning round is suggested	<i>Udvartita</i> <i>ūrū</i> and <i>udvāhita</i> <i>jaighā</i>	<i>Udvṛtta karaṇa</i>
11. <i>Vidyutbhrantā</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>Kuñcita</i> or <i>samapāda</i> (ii)	The lifted foot taken back on flexed position where it touches the hips and then the head etc. Thus the movement is in all directions	<i>Sama</i> of <i>ūrū</i> etc.	<i>Vidyutbhranta karaṇa</i> ; also an <i>aṅgahāra</i> by the same name
12. <i>Alātā</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>Añcita</i> (ii)	Stretching of a leg with the <i>añcita</i> foot, backwards: the foot is lowered on its own side and the heels touch the floor first	<i>Parivartita</i> <i>jaighā</i>	<i>Alātaka karaṇa</i> and <i>maṇḍala</i> , also <i>aṅgahāra</i> by the same name
13. <i>Bhujāṅgātrasitā</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>Kuñcita</i> (ii)	Lifted but sideways turning of the waist also: the <i>kuñcita</i> foot is lifted and the knee of this leg touches the other knee	<i>Vivartita</i>	<i>Bhujāṅgañcita</i> , <i>bhuj-aṅgātrasita</i> , <i>bhujāṅga trāsta-recita karaṇa</i>
14. <i>Harīṇaplutā</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>Añcita</i> (ii)	Initial position of the <i>atīkrāntā cārī</i> , jump and sideways movement	<i>Kṣipta</i> of the knees	<i>Harīṇapluta karaṇa</i> ; SR names it <i>niṅga-pluta</i>
15. <i>Daṇḍapādā</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>Añcita</i> (ii)	Initial position of the <i>nūpurapādikā cārī</i> , the leg is then stretched and the foot is brought down	<i>Kṣipta</i> and <i>udvāhita</i>	<i>Daṇḍapāda</i> , <i>daṇḍapākṣa</i> , <i>daṇḍaka recita karaṇa</i> and <i>daṇḍapāda maṇḍala</i>
16. <i>Bhramarī</i>	<i>Samapāda</i> (i) <i>Kuñcita</i> (ii)	Initial position of the <i>atīkrāntā cārī</i> , foot lifted and the entire body turned around (<i>bhramarī</i>)	<i>Udvāhita</i> <i>Jaighā</i>	<i>Bhramara karaṇa</i> and <i>maṇḍala</i> , <i>bhramara aṅgahāra</i>

Karaṇa

The *karaṇa* as a unit of movement is perhaps the most important subject discussed in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the *nṛtta* technique of dance. Indeed many contemporary scholars have restricted their discussion of the *nṛtta* technique to a discussion of the 108 *karaṇas*. Since these *karaṇas* have also been represented sculpturally in the Cidambaram and the Bṛhadeśvara temple in Tanjore, and since inscriptions of Bharata's verses are found in the Cidambaram temple, it has often been taken for granted or implied that the descriptions of *karaṇas* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are descriptions of static poses. It has rarely been stated that what Bharata describes as a *karaṇa* is a unit of movement, indeed, a cadence of movement culminating in a pose. It has not been clearly understood that, when a unit of movement is broken up into the successive positions that constitute it, several poses can result at different points in time. This being so, any sculptural representation or a description of movement in language can be a sculptural representation of an arrested moment in a movement sequence.

The effort of most scholars has been to identify the sculptured *karaṇas* of the Cidambaram temple with the verses of Chapter IV of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and to see whether the correct inscription has been indicated with the sculptured *karaṇa*. The history of analysis of the sculptured *karaṇas* has been a history of the correct numbering of the *karaṇas* and the inscriptions. More recently, this has also been done with the sculptural representation of the *karaṇas* in the Bṛhadeśvara temple in Tanjore. The main attempts made to identify the sculptured *karaṇas* of the Cidambaram temple with the correct verse of Chapter IV of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* have been by Sri B.N.V. Naidu in the *Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇam* and by the respective editors of the first and second editions of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* published by the Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda. All these authorities have used the woodcuts of the Epigraphical Department of the Government of Madras, first published in the Epigraphical Report of 1914. Sri Ramaswami Sastri in the second edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the Gaekwad Oriental Series has, however, selected a few figures from the temple walls, which he thinks correspond to the definitions in the text and the inscriptions.¹⁴⁰ The first edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, as also the Epigraphical Report, published only 93 woodcuts: the editors of the *Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇam* and the editor of the second edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Gaekwad Oriental Series) have incorporated the remaining fifteen. So far as the first fifty-three figures are concerned, there is unanimity amongst these authors. There is, however, a great divergence of opinion regarding the remaining 55 *karaṇas*. According to Sri Ramaswami Sastri, "these dancing poses have been set up strictly in accordance with the descriptions found in the verses of the fourth chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the correct corresponding verse has been inscribed below each pose so that it may be known to the public that the pose is the illustration of the particular *karaṇa* defined in the verse".¹⁴¹ He has also stated the reasons for the confusion by previous authors, and has given us a very valuable chart of the *karaṇas* 54-108 as found in the different compartments

of the four towers of the Cidambaram temple and has compared the names and numbers of his order with the previous publications¹⁴². He has also indicated in this table the *karaṇas* which according to him have been displayed in each of the *gopurams* of the Cidambaram temple. This comparative study has been a valuable guide in resolving some of the problems which faced scholars regarding the correct order of the *karaṇas* and their placement in the *gopurams* of the Cidambaram temple. However, he, too, like other scholars, has assumed that the definitions of *karaṇas* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are descriptions of static poses, and that the sculptors of the Cidambaram temple could and did depict an entire sequence of movement through sculptural representation.

If the order stated by Sri Sastri is accepted as correct, the problem of indicating whether or not the sculptural representation depicts the initial, intermediary or final position of the movement described by the text remains.

Our attempt, therefore, is to interpret these *karaṇas* as units of movement and not as static poses. Since this unit of movement is built up by successive positions of the different limbs, such as the hands, feet, legs and primary movements of the *cārīs*, the *sthānas*, etc., it is important to take into consideration the movements of the different limbs. Indeed, the fourth chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* cannot be understood without reference to the subsequent chapters of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, specially Chapters VII, IX, X and XII, where the individual movements of the major and minor limbs (*aṅga* and *upāṅga*) have been described. In analyzing the *karaṇa* as a unit of movement, the cadence has to be broken up into its constituents of movement of the major limbs (*aṅga*) and minor limbs (*upāṅga*). This breaking up of the *karaṇa* into the primary movements that each *karaṇa* employs leads to a reclassification of the *karaṇas* from the point of view of the most distinctive feature of the *karaṇa*. Most of the names of the *karaṇas* are also derived from particular movements of the major and minor limbs. Thus some *karaṇas* take their names from the *nṛtta hastas*, some from movements of the hip or waist or side; others take their names from the feet position. Many derive their names from the nature of the leg extension, like the *vṛścika* and others from the *cārī* or the *sthāna* they employ. The names of a few suggest the type of movement, crossing or whirling or pirouetting like the *svastika* or *recita* or *bhramarī*. The *karaṇas* can be reclassified thus in terms of their most distinctive or principal movement into nine categories. Once this is done, the problem of identification of the sculptured *karaṇa* also becomes the problem of indicating whether or not the sculptural representation captures this distinctive feature.

An attempt has been made here to reclassify the *karaṇas* in terms of the distinctive feature on the one hand, and to indicate whether or not the sculptural representation illustrates the initial, intermediary or final position of the *karaṇa* as described by Bharata, on the other. An attempt has also been made to indicate the exact

chapter and verse of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, where movements of the individual limbs as relevant to the particular *karāṇa* have been described. In the tables which follow, the first column states the most important and distinctive feature of the *karāṇa*, the second column indicates the movements of the related limbs, and the third column gives the textual references to these movements in different chapters of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

This is followed by a comparison of the *karāṇa* as sculpturally illustrated in the *gopurams* of the Cidambaram temple with the description of the *karāṇa* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The discrepancies and a few inaccuracies of identification between the editors of the *Tāṇḍavalakṣanam* and the second edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Gaekwad Oriental Series) have also been pointed out.

On the basis of what has been stated above, the *karāṇas* can be reclassified into the following categories:

- (a) *Sama karāṇas* : those which indicate stable positions, nos. 5, 6.
- (b) *Hasta karāṇas* : those which take their names after or have the *nṛtta hasta* movement as the most important feature, nos. 1, 2, 9, 10, 31, 32, 33, 39, 54, 68, 69, 75, 87.
- (c) *Svastika karāṇas* : those that take their names from the *svastika*—crossed position of either the hands, or the feet or the thighs, nos. 7, 8, 13, 15, 16, 17, 22, 49, 106.
- (d) *Recita karāṇas* : those which take their names from the *recita* or *recika* of either the hands or feet or *kaṭi* or neck etc. nos. 12, 14, 20, 29, 37, 101.
- (e) *Vṛścika karāṇas* : those which make an arch of the leg like a scorpion's, and utilize a back-flexed position of the leg, nos. 26, 42, 44, 46, 47, 50, 80, 90.
- (f) *Sthāna karāṇas* : those which derive their names from the *sthānas* or utilize the *Nāṭyaśāstra sthānas*, nos. 48, 96, 105.
- (g) *Cārī karāṇas* : those which are derived from the *cārīs*: often the name suggests it, but where it does not the definition describes it; nos. 4, 18, 24, 25, 27, 28, 34, 35, 36, 38, 40, 41, 51, 53, 55, 60, 62, 63, 65, 66, 73, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 104, 107, 108.
- (h) *Kaṭi karāṇas* : those which derive their names from the positions of the *kaṭi*, nos. 11, 19, 43, 45.

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(i) *Pāda karaṇas* : those which take their name from the position and movements of the feet, nos. 21, 23, 30, 56, 57, 58, 59, 70, 71, 74, 81, 88, 102, 103.

(j) *Ūrū, pārśva*, etc. : those which derive their movements from important movements of other parts of the body, nos. 3, 52, 61, 62, 64, 67, 72.

Karaṇa (sama)

No. <i>Karaṇa (sama positions)</i>	<i>Hasta</i>	<i>NŚ</i> Verse No. and sculptural representation in Cidambaram
5. <i>Samanakha</i> ¹ ; the natural position	Feet are <i>samapāda</i> and the hands hang naturally in <i>latā</i> ² ; the body is in <i>svābhāvika</i> position	¹ . IV—65 ² . IX—198 Sculptural representation accurate
6. <i>Līna</i> ³ ; feet are in <i>samapāda</i> ; there is no bend of the knees	The hands are moved and brought together in <i>añjali</i> ⁴ <i>saṁyuta hastas</i> . The head is slightly bent in <i>nihañcita</i> ⁵	³ . IV—66a-67a ⁴ . IX—128 ⁵ . VIII—32 The sculpture represents the final position

Karaṇa (hasta)

No. <i>Karaṇa and hasta</i>	<i>Pāda</i> (feet) and <i>jānu</i> (knees) etc.	<i>NŚ</i> Verse No.
1. <i>Talapuṣpapuṭa</i> ¹ <i>Puṣpapuṭahasta</i> ²	Feet in <i>agratalasañcara</i> ³ , <i>pārśva</i> (side) in <i>sannata</i> ⁴ limbs in <i>saṁsthava</i> ⁵	¹ . IV—61 ² . IX—150 ³ . IX—273 ⁴ . IX—235 ⁵ . X—89
2. <i>Vartita</i> ⁶ : <i>āvartita</i> and <i>parivartita</i> ⁷ of the hands. The initial position is of <i>svastika</i> hands	One foot in <i>agratalasañcara</i> ⁸ : a <i>svastika</i> of the wrists also mentioned	⁶ . IV—62 ⁷ . IX—218 ⁸ . IX—273

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No.	<i>Karaṇa</i> and <i>hasta</i>	<i>Pāda</i> (feet) and <i>jānu</i> (knees) etc.	<i>NŚ</i> Verse No.
9.	<i>Nikuṭṭaka</i> ⁹ : the <i>karaṇa</i> could also be classified under the <i>pāda karaṇas</i>	Arms in <i>nikuṭṭaka</i> bent with hands near the shoulders. Feet in <i>udghaṭṭita</i> according to commentary	⁹ . IV—69
10.	<i>Ardhanikuṭṭaka</i> ¹⁰ : hands <i>alapallava</i> ¹¹	Similar to <i>karaṇa</i> no. 9 but legs do not bend as much	¹⁰ . IV—70 ¹¹ . IX—91
31.	<i>Valita</i> ¹²	<i>Sūcī mukha hasta</i> ¹³ : <i>sūcī cārī</i> in initial position and <i>bhramarī</i> in final position	¹² . IV—92 ¹³ . IX—191
32.	<i>Ghūrṇita</i> ¹⁴ : <i>valita</i> of one hand and <i>dola</i> ¹⁵ of the other	Feet in <i>svastika</i> position, and then the legs are extended	¹⁴ . IV—92b-93a ¹⁵ . IX—148
33.	<i>Lalita</i> ¹⁶ : from the <i>kari-hasta</i> ¹⁷ position, one hand and arm moved from side to side in <i>utsārīta</i>	Feet in <i>kuṭṭita</i> or <i>nikuṭṭa</i> (i.e., bent knees and <i>tāḍita</i> ¹⁸ movement of feet)	¹⁶ . IV—93b-94a ¹⁷ . IX—199 ¹⁸ . This movement is not mentioned by <i>NŚ</i> but is mentioned by <i>SR</i> etc. <i>NŚ</i> only speaks of <i>kuṭṭita</i> as a bent position
39.	<i>Catura</i> ¹⁹ : left hand in <i>alapallava</i> ²⁰ and right in <i>catura</i> ²¹	Feet movement is <i>udghaṭṭita</i> ²² ; the right shank is bent in <i>nikuṭṭita</i> or <i>kuñcita</i>	¹⁹ . IV—99b-100a ²⁰ . IX—91 IX—93 ²² . IX—266, movement mentioned only in commentary
54.	<i>Ūromaṇḍala</i> ²³ : derived from <i>ūromaṇḍala</i> ²⁴ <i>hastas</i>	<i>Svastika</i> position to begin with; later arms open out; resembles the movement of the <i>baddhā cārī</i> ²⁵ . The commentary also mentions the <i>sthitāvartā cārī</i> ²⁶ initial position	²³ . IV—114b-115a ²⁴ . IX—204 ²⁵ . X—21 ²⁶ . X—15

No.	Karaṇa and hasta	Pāda (feet) and jānu (knees) etc.	NS Verse No.
68.	<i>Gajakrīḍita</i> ²⁷ : name derived from <i>gajadanta hasta</i> ²⁸ but the movement of the hands here has nothing in common with the <i>hasta</i> ; instead, it resembles the <i>karihasta</i> ²⁹ except for the crossing of the extended arm. Left hand is near the ear and right arm is extended to its own side	The leg position is of the <i>dolāpādā cārī</i> ³⁰ . The text describes the right hand in <i>latā</i> ³¹ , and the other is held near the ear	²⁷ . IV—128b-129a ²⁸ . IX—154 ²⁹ . IX—199 ³⁰ . X—36 ³¹ . IX—198
69.	<i>Talasaṃsphoṭita</i> ³² : <i>tala-mukha</i> ³³ hands clasped and clapped	Feet and legs as in <i>atīkrāntā</i> ³⁴ <i>cārī</i> . Knees are spread out in <i>kṣipta</i> ³⁵ Compare with <i>karaṇa</i> 93 discussed under the <i>cārī karaṇas</i>	³² . IV—129b-130a ³³ . IX—186 ³⁴ . X—30 ³⁵ . IX—262b-263a
75.	<i>Sannata</i> ³⁶ : with <i>dola</i> ³⁷ <i>hasta</i>	Feet in <i>svastika</i> in initial position; with a slight jump (as in the <i>hariṇaphutā cārī</i>) ³⁸ , the final position is attained; thighs and knees are spread out in <i>kṣipta</i> ³⁹	³⁶ . IV—135b-136a ³⁷ . IX—148 ³⁸ . X—43 ³⁹ . IX—262b-263a
87.	<i>Karihasta</i> ⁴⁰ : from <i>kari-hastas</i> ⁴¹	Feet are in <i>añcita</i> ⁴² position	⁴⁰ . IV—147b-148a ⁴¹ . IX—199 ⁴² . IX—273-274

Sculptural representation in Cidambaram of *karaṇas*
derived from *hastas*

1. *Talapuśpapaṭa* : The sculptural representation shows the final position of the hands, but the *agratalasañcara* feet described by the text are not seen. Also the *kṣipta* position of the knees is not mentioned in the text. *TL* and *NS* II agree¹⁴³.

2. *Vartita* : The sculptural representation of the *vartita karaṇa* cannot be said to be accurate, for the two distinctive features of the *karaṇa*, namely the *agratalasañcara* foot and the *svastika* of the wrists (*maṇi*), are not seen: however, the *karaṇa* could represent the final position of the arm movement. The text sug-

gests that in the final position the arms hang down with the palms of the *patākā hasta* facing out.

9. *Nikuṭṭaka* : The sculptural representation as identified by *NS* II illustrates an intermediary arm position. However, there is no indication in the figure of the *udghaṭṭita* toe-heel movement of the feet or the *maṇḍala sthāna* mentioned by the text. The *alapadma hastas* are not seen in the figure either.

10. *Ardhanikuṭṭaka*¹⁴⁴ : In the sculpture identified by *NS* II as this *karāṇa*, one hand is near the ear and the other arm is held across the chest. From the sculpture it is not clear whether the hand is *alapallava* or not. *Allapallava hastas* are mentioned only by Abhinavagupta in the commentary and not by Bharata. The movement described by *NS* II is a continuous movement and not a static position.

31. *Valita* : The text mentions the *sūcīmukha hasta* the *sūcīpādā cārī* in the initial position and the turning of the *trika* to perform the *bhramarī cārī* in the final. The Cidambaram relief depicts one foot in *kuñcita* and the other in *samapāda*. One hand is held in *patākā*, and the other rests on the thigh. The initial position of *sūcī cārī* is seen in the sculpture: the *apaviddha* of the arms mentioned by *NS* could be interpreted as in the relief.

32. *Ghūrṇita* : The *karāṇa* as seen in Cidambaram represent the *dola hasta* clearly, but the feet are not in *svastika* as indicated by the text; one foot is in *kuñcita*, suggesting a *sūcī* position rather than a *svastika*. The *valita* of the hands or the *svastika* position of the feet is not captured by the sculpture.

33. *Lalita* : The hand position of the *karihasta* in the *karāṇa* is accurately represented in the sculpture. The feet are difficult to analyze in terms of the text, but the pose of the sculpture seems to be a faithful representation, judging from the fact that this *karāṇa* has been similarly depicted at other places.

39. *Catura* : The sculpture shows the *dola* arm, crossing the body; and one hand seems to be in *alapallava* but it may be in *patākā*: the text does not mention the placing of the arms; thus, there was freedom for the sculptor to depict them as he wished. The *catura* hand is also not seen in the sculpture. The feet cannot be said to be in *udghaṭṭita*: one of them is in *kuñcita*. *Kuṭṭita* or *udghaṭṭita* are movements of the feet and thus difficult to represent in sculpture.

54. *Ūromaṇḍala* : *TL* and the second edition of *NS* do not agree about this *karāṇa*. Ramaswami Sastri gives a drawing of the *viṣkambha karāṇa* of *TL* and calls it *ūromaṇḍala*. The *svastika* position of the legs mentioned in the text and reiterated in the commentary is, however, not seen in the figures identified by *NS* II or *TL*: the

ūromaṇḍala of the arms is a movement and can, therefore, take either the position seen in the *NŚ II karaṇa* 54 or the *NŚ I karaṇa* 54. The *uromaṇḍala hastas* could not have the hands and arms of the figure identified as this *karaṇa* by *TL*. The feet position of all the three figures do not accord with the textual description. The figure identified by *NŚ II* represents at best the initial position of the arm movement.

68. *Gajakrīḍita* : The *karaṇa* identified by Ramaswami Sastri in *NŚ II* represents the position described by the text accurately. The legs are in *dolapāda* and one hand is in *latā* and the other is held near the ear. The *TL* figure is incorrect. The *dola pāda* and *latā hasta* are both seen in the figure identified by *NŚ II*.

69. *Talasamsphoṭita* : The sculptural representation of the *karaṇa* as identified by *NŚ II* clearly indicates the hand position described in the text. *TL* identifies a different figure which does not correspond with the definition. However, the feet position described in the text are not seen in the *NŚ II* figure either. Also, neither the *atīkrāntā cārī* nor the *daṇḍapāda* feet are seen in the sculpture. The *NŚ II* figure could at best be the final position of the movement where both the hands meet and the feet are struck.

75. *Sannata* : The figures identified as the *sannata karaṇa* are different in *NŚ II* and *TL* : the figure identified by Sastri represents the final position of the *sannata karaṇa* where the feet are in *svastika* position after a jump in *hariṇaplutā cārī* : the hands, however, are held near the chest and this does not accord with the text. The figure identified as the *sannata karaṇa* by *TL* and *NŚ I* represents the *dola hastas* but not the *svastika* of the feet. It could, however, represent the jumping in the *hariṇaplutā cārī* but the action indicated seems more violent than the description of the *karaṇa*. We can only conclude that the *karaṇa* is inaccurately represented in both the figures identified, even though some features are common : no other figure in Cidambaram seems to fit the description totally.

87. *Karihasta* : It is fairly accurately represented in the sculptured figure: we see clearly the *karihasta* and the *añcita* position of the feet: both *NŚ II* and *TL* agree. The extension of the side alone does not accord with the definition, but the arm extension and the foot position without doubt make this figure a representation of the *karihasta karaṇa* of *NŚ II*.

Karaṇa (svastika)

No.	<i>Karaṇa</i>	Other limbs, <i>pāda</i> (feet) and <i>hastas</i> (hands)	<i>NS</i> Verse No.
7.	<i>Svastika recitā</i> ¹ : <i>recita</i> ² of the hands with arms in <i>āviddha</i> ³ (turning inwards), the commentary adds many other movements of the hands	<i>Svastika</i> of the feet. The first position of the hands is in <i>caturaśra</i> and in the final position they are in <i>hamsapākṣa</i>	¹ . IV—76b-68a ² . IX—193 ³ . IX—190 and 220
8.	<i>Maṇḍala svastika</i> ⁴	<i>Svastika</i> positions of feet and hands are derived from the <i>maṇḍala sthāna</i> ⁵	⁴ . IV—68b-69a ⁵ . X—65
13.	<i>Vakṣaḥsvastika recita</i> ⁶ : hands in <i>svastika</i> ; the chest is bent in <i>nikuñcita</i> . The commentary identifies this as the <i>abhugna</i> ⁷ chest movement	Feet are in <i>svastika</i> and are alternately opened and crossed	⁶ . IV—73b-74a ⁷ . IX—224
15.	<i>Svastika</i> ⁸ , hands and feet both in <i>svastika</i>	Static position	⁸ . IV—75b-76a
16.	<i>Prṣṭhasvastika</i> ⁹ : arms and hands in <i>svastika</i> , but completely turned, so that back faces audience	Feet and legs as in <i>apakrāntā cārī</i> ¹⁰ and <i>ardhasūcī cārī</i> ¹¹	⁹ . IV—76b-77a ¹⁰ . X—3 X—34
17.	<i>Diksvastika</i> ¹² : hands and feet in <i>svastika</i>	One continuous movement front and sideways of crossed feet and hands	¹² . IV—77b-78a
22.	<i>Ardhasvastika</i> ¹³ : right hand in <i>karihasta</i> ¹⁴ ; the left hand relaxed on chest	<i>Svastika</i> of the feet	¹³ . IV—82b-83 ¹⁴ . IX—199
49.	<i>Pārśvanikuṭṭaka</i> ¹⁵	Hands are in <i>svastika</i> ; feet and legs in <i>nikuṭṭita</i>	¹⁵ . IV—109b-110a
106.	<i>Nāgāpasarpita</i> ¹⁶ : hands in <i>recita</i> and head in <i>parivāhita</i> ¹⁷	Release of one leg from <i>svastika</i> position of feet	¹⁶ . IV—166b-167a ¹⁷ . VIII—27

Sculptural representation in Cidambaram of *svastika karaṇas*

7. *Svastika recita* : Both *TL* and *NŚ II* identify the same figure as the *svastika recita karaṇa*. The sculpture depicts, if anything, the final position described by the *NŚ*, for neither the *recita* movement of the *hamsapakṣa hastas* nor the *svastika* position of the feet is seen in the sculpture. The commentary adds that the hands finally rest on the *kaṭi* and this is clearly observed in the sculptural representation of the *karaṇa*.

8. *Maṇḍala svastika* : *TL* and *NŚ II* agree but the sculpture represents the *svastika* of the hands only: it does not also depict the distinctive feature of a four-*tāla* distance between the two feet described in *NŚ*.

13. *Vakṣaḥsvastika recita* : *TL* and *NŚ II* agree : the sculpture represents fairly accurately the *svastika* of the hands and the feet: the *abhugna* chest (slightly bent) as described by the text is not seen in the sculptural representation.

15. *Svastika* : *TL* and *NŚ II* agree : the sculpture represents the final position of the *NŚ karaṇa* : the *svastika* of the hands and feet is seen clearly in the relief.

16. *Prṣṭhasvastika* : *TL* and *NŚ II* agree : the reverse position of *karaṇa* 15 is seen in the sculpture and it corresponds to the description in the text. However, the movements of the *apakrāntā cārī* is not depicted in the sculpture; only the final posterior position is depicted.

17. *Diksvastika* : *TL* and *NŚ II* agree: the sculpture depicts a posture similar to *karaṇa* 16, which seems to be a result of the limitations of modelling in relief. The *svastika* position of the feet and the hands is clearly observed, and differs from the textual description only in so far as the *diksvastika karaṇa* is a continuous movement of the crossed feet and hands in front and sideways.

22. *Ardhasvastika* : *TL* and *NŚ II* agree: the sculpture depicts the *svastika* of the feet but the movement described by the text, specially of the *karihasta*, is not seen: the hand is held on the chest in the sculpture.

49. *Pārśvanikuṭṭaka* : *TL* and *NŚ II* agree: the sculpture also corresponds to the description of the text: the hands are in *svastika* and the knees are bent. The sideways movement suggested in the text is, however, not seen in the sculptural representation.

106. *Nāgāpasarpita* : *NŚ II* and *TL* differ in their identification of the *karaṇa*. The figure in the *NŚ II* identified as the *nāgāpasarpita* shows practically a sitting posture; one hand is held clearly in *patākā*, and the other is near the ear: this is

not in accordance with the definition of *NŚ*. The extension of the legs from the initial *svastika* position described by the text is also not noticed. The *TL* and *NŚ* I figure of *karāṇa* 106 is equally doubtful, for one leg is here turned back, almost as a *vṛścika* leg, and arms are extended out in front: the general definition of *recita* could also include this movement. One may conclude that there is no accurate sculptural representation of this *karāṇa*.

Karāṇa (recita)

No. <i>Karāṇa</i>	<i>Hasta</i> (hands) and other limbs	<i>NŚ</i> Verse No.
12. <i>Ardha recita</i> ¹	<i>Sūcīmukha</i> ² <i>hastas</i> make <i>recita</i> . The side (<i>pārśva</i>) is in <i>nata</i> ³ position. The legs are in <i>nikuṭṭita</i>	¹ . IV—72b-73a ² . IX—191 ³ . IX—239-240
14. <i>Unmatta</i> ⁴	The hands are in <i>recita</i> ⁵ and the feet in <i>añcita</i> ⁶ : there is a turn of the entire body. The commentary also mentions the <i>āviddhā cārī</i> ⁷	⁴ . IV—74b-75a ⁵ . IX—193 ⁶ . IX—274-275 ⁷ . X—38
20. <i>Ākṣipta recita</i> ⁸	The arm movement is <i>apa-viddha</i> ⁹ (circular), the hands are in <i>recita</i> . The knees are in <i>kṣipta</i> ¹⁰ (spread out) position	⁸ . IV—80b-81a ⁹ . IX—220 ¹⁰ . X—262-263
29. <i>Recita nikuṭṭita</i> ¹¹	Feet in <i>udghaṭṭita</i> ¹² ; the knees and thighs are bent to form <i>nikuñcita</i>	¹¹ . IV—89b-90a ¹² . IX—265
37. <i>Vaiśākha recita</i> ¹³ : hands and feet both in <i>recita</i>	Derived from the <i>sthāna</i> ¹⁴ of that name	¹³ . IV—97b-98a ¹⁴ . X—61-62
101. <i>Sambhrānta</i> ¹⁵ : the name of the <i>karāṇa</i> is derived from the circular movement it implies. Unlike <i>karāṇas</i> 5 and 6, this is a movement. The <i>cārī</i> used is <i>āviddhā</i> ¹⁷	The movement of the hands is in <i>parivartita</i> ¹⁶ and <i>vyāvartita</i> ; they rest on the thighs in the final position	¹⁵ . IV—161b-162a ¹⁶ . IX—217-218 ¹⁷ . X—38

Sculptural representation of the *recita karaṇas*

12. *Ardha recita* : *TL* and *NS* II agree : the sculptural representation accords more or less with an intermediary position described in the text; the *sūcī mukha hastas* cannot be seen clearly in the figure, nor are the *kaṭakāmukha hastas* mentioned by the commentary clear. The bent position of the legs in the sculpture is *nikuṭṭita*.

14. *Unmatta* : *TL* and *NS* II agree : the figure represents accurately the *recita* movement of the hands and arms and also suggests the frenzied quality of the *karaṇa* : the *añcita* feet are, however, not visible.

20 *Ākṣipta recita* : *TL* and *NS* II agree : the clearly defined *kṣipta* position of the knees is seen in the figure. The arm and hand positions are more difficult to identify in terms of the text. In the sculpture one hand is in *patākā* near the chest and the other rests on the thigh. The sculpture illustrates the final position of the *karaṇa*.

29. *Recita nikuṭṭita* : *TL* and *NS* II agree : the sculptural representation is fairly faithful and depicts the *recita* and the *dola hasta* clearly: the foot does not show the *udghaṭṭita* movement but the toe of the *kuñcita* foot is so placed that it can easily lead to the *udghaṭṭita* movement.

37. *Vaiśākha recita* : *TL* and *NS* II agree : the figure in the sculpture, however, does not show the distance of three and a half *tālas* between the two feet as mentioned by the text. The feet and hands can be said to be in *recita* but the sculpture does not conform accurately to the description. There is no suggestion of the uplifted foot in the text. The most distinctive feature of the *karaṇa* is the *vaiśākha sthāna* in the initial position and this is not seen in the sculptural representation. The feet in the sculpture indicate the intermediary position of the *karaṇa*, viz., the *nūpura pāda*.

101. *Sambhrānta* : Neither the figure identified by *NS* II nor the one identified by *TL* accord with the textual description. There is no indication in the sculpture of either the *āviddhā cārī* or the *vyāvartita* or *parivartita* movements of the hands. The *karaṇa* is a continuous movement and not a static position, and does not lend itself to a faithful sculptural representation.

Karaṇas with legs in vṛścika position

No.	<i>Karaṇa</i>	<i>Hastas</i> (hands) and other limbs	<i>NŚ</i> Verse No.
26.	<i>Nikuñcita</i> ¹ : one leg in <i>vṛścika</i>	One hand across the chest the other touches tip of the nose. One hand is in <i>arāla</i>	¹ . IV—86b-87a
42.	<i>Vṛścika kuṭṭila</i> ² : one leg in <i>vṛścika</i> taken back	The arms bent in <i>nikuñcita</i> : <i>alapallava</i> hands are held in the shoulder region	² . IV—102b-103a
44.	<i>Latā vṛścika</i> ³ : one leg in <i>vṛścika</i>	Hands in <i>latā</i>	³ . IV—104b-105a
46.	<i>Vṛścika recita</i> ⁴	<i>Viprakīrṇa nṛtta hastas</i> in <i>recita</i> are suggested	⁴ . IV—106b-107a and IX-187
47.	<i>Vṛścika</i> ⁵ : one leg bent in front; the other turned back and elevated	Two hands in <i>kuñcita</i> held over the shoulders	⁵ . IV—107b-108a
50.	<i>Lalāṭatilaka</i> ⁶ : also belongs to the <i>vṛścika</i> variety: the <i>vṛścika</i> leg is taken to its extreme position when the toe touches the forehead	The hand of the uplifted leg is in <i>patākā</i> , the other holds the uplifted toe in the forehead region	⁶ . IV—110b-111a
80.	<i>Mayūralalita</i> ⁷ : <i>vṛścika</i> of legs, but with crossed thighs	Hands in <i>recita</i> and moved freely. <i>Trika</i> is in <i>vivartita</i>	IV—140b-141a
90.	<i>Simhākarṣita</i> ⁸ (<i>vṛścika</i> of one leg)	Arms bent in <i>nikuñcita</i> , hands <i>padmakōśa</i> or <i>ūr-ṇanābha</i>	⁸ . IV—150b-151a

Sculptural representation of the vṛścika karaṇas

26. *Nikuñcita* : *TL* and *NŚ* II agree : the sculptural relief accurately accords with the description in the text: one foot is in *samapāda* with a *nata* (bent) knee, the other is taken back and lifted up to form an arch: the arm positions also conform to the description in the text, the *arāla* hand however, cannot be seen in the sculpture; the *karihasta* is not specifically mentioned by *NŚ*.

42. *Vṛścika kuṭṭila* : *TL* and *NŚ II* agree : the sculpture has the same feet and knee position as *karāṇa* 26: the hands and arms differ. According to the text, they should be in *alapadma* and in *recita*: this is not depicted by the sculpture. The hands are, however, seen in the shoulder region in the sculpture and this conforms to the description in the commentary.

44. *Latā vṛścika*: *TL* and *NŚ II* agree: the feet and leg positions of this *karāṇa* are similar to those of *karāṇas* 26 and 42: the *latā hasta* is depicted in the sculpture by an extended arm: the other hand is in *patākā* held near the chest.

46. *Vṛścika recita* : *TL* and *NŚ II* agree : the sculptural representation has the *vṛścika* leg lifted high with the toe touching the back of the head. The *recita* of the hands and arms is shown by the complete extension of both the arms. The chest is slightly bent forward in the sculptural representation, which is not prescribed by the *NŚ*. The final position of the *karāṇa* is depicted by the sculpture.

47. *Vṛścika* : *TL* and *NŚ II* agree : the sculptural representation is accurate, so far as the legs are concerned, but the *karihasta* prescribed by the commentary is not seen in the sculpture.

50. *Lalāṭatiluka*: *TL* and *NŚ II* agree: the *vṛścika* leg is depicted in its extreme position where the calf and the thighs are in a straight line again and there is no bending of the knee. The hand clasping the toe above the head is clearly seen in the figure. The other hand is in *patākā*. The sculpture is a faithful definition of the final position.

80. *Mayūralalita* : *TL* and *NŚ II* identify different figures: the *TL* figure of *karāṇa* 99 is figure 80 of *NŚ II*¹⁴⁵: the latter figure is nearer the description of *NŚ*. The sacrum is turned round and the hands and arms are openly stretched out: one leg is in *vṛścika* but not in such an extreme position as in *karāṇa* 46 or *karāṇa* 60: this is more akin to the leg position of *karāṇas* 26 and 42: however, the turning of the *trika* and the crossing of the thighs produce a different impression. The *karāṇa* identified by *NŚ II* is closer to the textual description.

90. *Simhākarṣita* : *TL* and *NŚ II* identify different figures. The figure identified as *karāṇa* 90 by *NŚ II* is *karāṇa* 106 of *TL*. The *NŚ II* figure is closer to the description in the text: yet it is not an accurate depiction. The *vṛścika* of one leg is seen, but the *ūrṇanābha* and *padmakōśa hastas* mentioned in the commentary are not seen in the relief; the arms and hands suggest the *daṇḍapakṣa hastas* instead.

*Karaṇas from sthānas*¹⁴⁶

No.	<i>Karaṇa</i>	<i>Hastas</i> (hands) and other limbs	<i>NŚ</i> Verse No.
48.	<i>Vyaṃsita</i> ¹	Derived from <i>ālīḍha sthāna</i> ² : arms in <i>recita</i> and hands in <i>viprakīrṇa nṛtta</i> ³ <i>hasta</i> , in an <i>udveṣṭita</i> movement ⁴	¹ . IV—108b-109a ² . X—67 ³ . IX—187 ⁴ . IX—216
96.	<i>Niveśa</i> ⁵	From <i>maṇḍala sthāna</i> ⁶ : hands on chest, the chest is in <i>nirbhugna</i> ⁷ and the sides are in <i>unnata</i> ⁸ .	⁵ . IV—156b-157a ⁶ . X—65-66 ⁷ . IX—226 ⁸ . IX—236-238
105.	<i>Lolita</i> ⁹	From <i>vaiṣṇava sthāna</i> ¹⁰ : the arms are in <i>recita</i> and the hands in <i>añcita</i> ; the head is <i>lolita</i> ¹¹	⁹ . IV—165b-166a ¹⁰ . X—52-53 ¹¹ . VIII—37

Sculptural representation of *karaṇas* derived from *sthānas*

48. *Vyaṃsita* : *TL* and *NŚ* II agree: the figure depicts the *ālīḍha sthāna*, no doubt, but it is rather a clumsy representation and, considering that the *ālīḍha sthāna* has been beautifully sculptured as early as in the Rānigumphā caves, this is indeed a poor depiction. The feet are not quite five *tālas* apart and the stretched leg is not sufficiently extended out. The hands are accurately depicted as being on the chest where they may easily form a *svastika*.

96. *Niveśa*: *TL* and *NŚ* II identify different figure as the *niveśa karaṇa*, but neither of the figures corresponds to the description of the text. The *TL* figure identified as *karaṇa* 96 has nothing in common with the *NŚ* description: but the figure identified in *NŚ* II as *karaṇa* 96 also does not depict the *maṇḍala sthāna*: in fact none of the *karaṇas* derived from the *sthānas* have been accurately represented in the Cidambaram temple. In the *NŚ* II figure the hands are on the chest and this accords with the description; but the feet are not shown four *tālas* apart. There is nothing in the chest and side (*pārśva*) position either to show a slight bending and stiffening of the torso. Nor is there any other figure which conforms to the definition in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

105. *Lolita* : *TL* and *NŚ* II do not agree regarding the figure, nor do the figures identified by either accord with the description in *NŚ*. Neither the *TL* nor the *NŚ* II figure depicts the *vaiṣṇava sthāna* which is the most distinctive figure of the *karaṇa*. The feet of the figure identified by *NŚ* II are in *svastika* and the hands are near the chest. It would have been difficult to represent the head movement, or the *recita* of the arms, mentioned by *NŚ*, sculpturally.

Karaṇas from cārīs

No.	<i>Karaṇa</i>	<i>Hastas</i> (hands) and other limbs	<i>NŚ</i> Verse No.
4.	<i>Apaviddha</i> ¹ : derived from the <i>baddhā cārī</i> ; a movement of the arms is also termed <i>apaviddha</i> (IX-220)	The hands mentioned are <i>śukatunḍa</i> and <i>kaṭakā-mukha</i> ² : a crossing of the thighs as in the <i>baddhā cārī</i> is mentioned in the text	¹ . IV—64b-65a ² . IX—60-62
18.	<i>Alāta</i> ³ : initial position of <i>alātā cārī</i> , ⁴ final position of <i>ūrdhvajānu cārī</i> ⁵ : a turn and the uplifted sideways movement of the knees are important points of the cadence	Initial position of the hands is at the level of the shoulders; in the final position they extend down	IV—78b X—41 X—33
24.	<i>Bhujāṅgastrāsita</i> ⁶ : derived from the <i>cārī</i> ⁷ of that name: one <i>kuñcita</i> ⁸ foot lifted up, the thighs in <i>vivartana</i> ⁹ (also compare <i>karaṇas</i> 35 and 40 which are similar)	There is an oblique turning of the entire body specially knees, thighs and waist: the hand positions are not indicated; one arm is in <i>karihasta</i> ¹⁰	⁶ . IV—84-85a ⁷ . X—42 ⁸ . IX—275 ⁹ . IX—255-256 ¹⁰ . IX—199
25.	<i>Ūrdhvajānu</i> ¹¹ : the leg positions are exactly the same as in the <i>cārī</i> ¹² of that name	Hand and arm movement not specified	¹¹ . IV—85b-86a ¹² . X—33
27.	<i>Mattalli</i> ¹³ : leg movement as in the <i>cārī</i> ¹⁴ : here the circular movement is emphasized	Arms in <i>apaviddha</i> , and the hands perform an <i>udveṣṭita</i> ¹⁵ movement	¹³ . IV—87b-88a ¹⁴ . X—28 ¹⁵ . IX—216
28.	<i>Ardhamattalli</i> ¹⁶ : derived from the <i>mattalli</i> ¹⁷ <i>cārī</i> but the closing and extending of the feet is emphasized	<i>Recita nṛtta hasta</i> extended and the left hand is placed on hip	¹⁶ . IV—88b-89a ¹⁷ . X—28
34.	<i>Daṇḍapakṣa</i> ¹⁸ : the <i>karaṇa</i> is derived from the <i>ūrdhvajānu cārī</i> ¹⁹ : compare <i>karaṇa</i> 25 above, also compare <i>karaṇa</i> 82	The hand position is that of the <i>daṇḍapakṣa nṛtta hastas</i> ²⁰ ; the feet and hands together give the impression of a staff: the arms are <i>latā hastas</i> ²¹ here	¹⁸ . IV—95b-96a ¹⁹ . X—33 ²⁰ . IX—202 ²¹ . IX—198

No.	Karāṇa	Hastas (hands) and other limbs	NŚ Verse No.
35.	<i>Bhujāṅga</i> trāsita <i>recita</i> ²² : derived from the <i>cārī</i> of that name and <i>karāṇa</i> 24. The <i>karāṇa</i> can also fall into the category of the <i>recita karāṇas</i> for the circular movement is emphasized here. Also compare <i>karāṇa</i> 40	Hand positions are clearly indicated as <i>recita</i> in initial position: in the final one they rest on one side as in <i>karāṇa</i> 24	²² . IV—95b-96a
36.	<i>Nūpura</i> ²³ : initial position <i>bhramarī cārī</i> , ²⁴ final position of <i>nūpurapādikā cārī</i> ²⁵	The <i>hastas</i> in <i>latā recita</i> but both arms are above shoulder level; a turn is suggested after the first position	²³ . IV—96b-97a ²⁴ . X—45 ²⁵ . X—35
38.	<i>Bhramara</i> ²⁶ : from the <i>bhramarī cārī</i> ²⁷ ; this is a movement where the knees and the feet continue to be in the initial <i>ākṣipta</i> ²⁸ and <i>svastika</i> positions	The hands are in <i>udveṣṭita</i> ²⁹ when the fingers beginning with the forefinger open outwards. Only the <i>trika</i> is turned and thighs are in the <i>valana</i> position	²⁶ . IV—98b-99a ²⁷ . X—45 ²⁸ . X—37 ²⁹ . IX—216
40.	<i>Bhujāṅgāñcita</i> ³⁰ : from <i>karāṇa</i> 24 above and the <i>cārī</i> of that name: the <i>kuñcita</i> foot crosses at the thigh level	Right hand is in <i>recita</i> and left hand <i>latā</i> . No crossing of arm to the other side as in <i>karāṇas</i> 24 and 35	³⁰ . IV—100b-101a
41.	<i>Daṇḍakarecita</i> ³¹ : derived from the second or final position of the <i>daṇḍapādā cārī</i> ³² . One knee is in <i>kṣipta</i> and the other leg is stretched out like a staff	The arms and hands are in <i>daṇḍapakṣa</i> and are moved in <i>recita</i>	³¹ . IV—101b-102a ³² . X—
51.	<i>Krāntaka</i> ³³ : derived from the <i>atīkrāntā cārī</i> ³⁴ where one <i>kuñcita</i> foot is lifted up, put forward and extended. Also compare <i>karāṇa</i> 82, where a similar leg position is indicated	The hands are described as <i>ākṣipta</i> in the text, but commentary adds that, in the initial position, the hands move in the <i>vyāvartita</i> ³⁵ movement; in the intermediary position they are in <i>parivartita</i> ³⁶ ; they are finally held in <i>kaṭakāmukha</i> ³⁷ in the chest region	³³ . IV—111b-112a ³⁴ . X—30 ³⁵ . IX—217 ³⁶ . IX—218 ³⁷ . IX—60-63

No.	Karāṇa	Hastas (hands) and other limbs	NŚ Verse No.
53.	<i>Cakramaṇḍala</i> ³⁸ : from the <i>aḍḍitā cārī</i> ³⁹ , but the definition seems incomplete	The hands are in <i>uromaṇḍala</i> ⁴⁰ : the name <i>cakra-maṇḍala</i> really gives a clue to the <i>karāṇa</i> , for this is an acrobatic position in which the arms pass between the thighs to touch the ground. It is rarely seen in dancing, except in a style like <i>oḍissī</i>	³⁸ . IV—113b-114a ³⁹ . X—23 ⁴⁰ . IX—204
55.	<i>Ākṣipta</i> ⁴¹ : derived from the <i>cārī</i> ⁴² of the name but the final position of <i>svastika</i> feet in the <i>cārī</i> is not indicated in the <i>karāṇa</i>	Hands and arms also extended but no precise position indicated. The commentary adds that the hands are in <i>kaṭakā-mukha</i> placed slightly on the side	⁴¹ . IV—115b-116a ⁴² . X—37
60.	<i>Dolāpāda</i> ⁴³ : from the <i>cārī</i> ⁴⁴ of that name; one <i>kuñcita</i> foot swung from side to side ending in an <i>añcita</i> foot: weight of the body is on the <i>samapāda</i> foot	Hands accord with the feet, and are also in <i>dola</i> ⁴⁵	⁴³ . IV—120b-121a ⁴⁴ . X—36 ⁴⁵ . IX—148
62.	<i>Vinivṛtta</i> ⁴⁶ : derived from the <i>sūcī cārī</i> ⁴⁷ : feet are placed in <i>sūcī cārī</i> in the initial position and are moved to a <i>svastika</i> position in the final position	The <i>trika</i> is turned round, i.e., the side (<i>pārśva</i>) is in the <i>vivartana</i> ⁴⁸ movement. The two <i>hamsapakṣa</i> ⁴⁹ <i>hastas</i> move in a fast tempo in <i>recita</i>	⁴⁶ . IV—122b-123a ⁴⁷ . X—34 ⁴⁸ . IX—236-238 ⁴⁹ . IX—193
63.	<i>Pārśvakrānta</i> ⁵⁰ : feet as in the <i>parśvakrāntā cārī</i> ⁵¹	Hands to accord with the feet which are moved in front	⁵⁰ . IV—123b-124a ⁵¹ . X—32
65.	<i>Vidyudbhrānta</i> ⁵² : feet as in the <i>cārī</i> ⁵³ : one leg is taken back and extended high so that the foot touches the forehead: the other foot is in <i>samapāda</i> : weight of the body is on the <i>samapāda</i> foot	The arm movement is given as <i>maṇḍalāviddha</i> , i.e., <i>maṇḍala</i> (circular) movement and <i>āviddha</i> ⁵⁴ movement when the hands are turned inward towards the body from an outer point in space	IV—125b-126a X—40 IX—220-221

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No.	<i>Karaṇa</i>	<i>Hastas</i> (hands) and other limbs	<i>NŚ</i> Verse No.
66.	<i>Atikrānta</i> ⁵⁵ : from the <i>cārī</i> ⁵⁶ of that name: <i>kuñcita</i> foot is lifted forward	No specific hands are described	⁵⁵ . IV—126b-127a ⁵⁶ . X—30
73.	<i>Pārśvajānu</i> ⁵⁷ : feet as in the <i>parśvakrāntā cārī</i> ⁵⁸ : but this is an extreme position of the infolded leg	One hand rests on the thigh and the other is held in <i>muṣṭi</i> on chest. The commentary adds that the resting hand is in <i>ardhacandra</i>	⁵⁷ . IV—133b-134a ⁵⁸ . X—32
76.	<i>Sūcī</i> ⁵⁹ : feet as in the <i>cārī</i> ⁶⁰ ; the <i>kuñcita</i> foot is lifted and placed forward: in the initial position it touches the knee of the stationary leg, in the final the toe touches the <i>samapāda</i> foot	No specific hands prescribed	⁵⁹ . IV—136b-137a ⁶⁰ . X—34
77.	<i>Ardhasūcī</i> ⁶¹ : only the final position of the <i>sūcī cārī</i> is used when the right foot is in <i>kuñcita</i> and is placed on the side of the stationary foot	<i>Alapadma</i> hands are held near the head	⁶¹ . IV—137b-138a
78.	<i>Sūcīviddha</i> ⁶² : this is the extreme position of the last movement of the <i>sūcī cārī</i> ; the <i>kuñcita</i> foot pierces into the heel of the other foot. (Compare <i>karaṇa</i> 96 and 77 above; three variations of the same movement have been described)	Hands are on the hips and the chest: the commentary adds that the hand on the hip is <i>ardhacandra</i> and the one on the chest is <i>kaṭakāmukha</i>	⁶² . IV—138b-139a
79.	<i>Apakrānta</i> ⁶³ : derived from the thigh position of the <i>cārī</i> ⁶⁴ , i.e., <i>valana</i> ⁶⁵ of thighs and then a <i>kuñcita</i> foot is raised	No specific hands prescribed	⁶³ . IV—139b-140a ⁶⁴ . X—31 ⁶⁵ . IX—255-256

No.	Karaṇa	Hastas (hands) and other limbs	NS Verse No.
82.	<i>Daṇḍapāda</i> ⁶⁶ : initial position of the <i>nūpura cārī</i> ⁶⁷ (i.e., crossed position of feet): in the final position one leg is extended to its own side so as to make a staff. Compare <i>karaṇa</i> 100 and <i>karaṇa</i> 34—which are derived from the <i>ūrdhva-jānu cārī</i> —and have <i>daṇḍapakṣa hastas</i> . This <i>karaṇa</i> ends in the <i>daṇḍapādā cārī</i> ⁶⁸	The arm movement is in <i>āviddha</i> ⁶⁹ where the hand is moved inwards from an outer position	⁶⁶ . IV—142b-143a ⁶⁷ . X—35 ⁶⁸ . X—44 ⁶⁹ . IX—220
83.	<i>Harīṇapluta</i> ⁷⁰ : like the <i>cārī</i> ⁷¹ of the name: it is derived from the initial position of the <i>atīkrāntā cārī</i> ⁷² . there is a jump and then an <i>añcita</i> foot is placed at the side	The knees are spread out in <i>kṣipta</i> in the final position. No hands are specified	⁷⁰ . IV—143b-144a ⁷¹ . X—43 ⁷² . X—30
84.	<i>Preṅkholita</i> ⁷³ : derived from the <i>dolapādā cārī</i> ⁷⁴ . Initial position of the <i>dolapādā</i> is continued into the <i>bhramarī cārī</i> ⁷⁵ with a jump. Compare <i>karaṇa</i> 60	The <i>trika</i> is turned round, i.e., the sides are in a <i>vivartita</i> ⁷⁶ movement	⁷³ . IV—144b-145a ⁷⁴ . X—36 ⁷⁵ . X—45 ⁷⁶ . IX—236-238
85.	<i>Nitamba</i> ⁷⁷ : derived from the <i>baddhā cārī</i> ⁷⁸ : <i>svastika</i> position of the feet	The arms are lifted high in the initial position and then the fingers and palms move in <i>vyāvartita karaṇa</i> ⁷⁹ of the hands: palms face the chest gradually and are finally in <i>patākā</i> ; this is the complete movement of the <i>nitamba</i> ⁸⁰ hands	IV—145b-146a ⁷⁸ . X—21 ⁷⁹ . IX—217 ⁸⁰ . IX—196
86.	<i>Skhalita karaṇa</i> ⁸¹ : derived from the <i>dolapādā cārī</i> ⁸² . Compare <i>karaṇas</i> 60 and 84 above	The hands follow the feet <i>recita</i> and <i>ghūrṇita</i> hands are used: in the initial position the <i>haṃṣapakṣa recita</i> ⁸³ hands are used	⁸¹ . IV—146b-147a ⁸² . X—36 ⁸³ . IX—193

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No.	Karāṇa	Hastas (hands) and other limbs	NŚ Verse No.
89.	<i>Simhavikrīḍita</i> ⁸⁴ : derived from the <i>alātā cārī</i> ⁸⁵ . Movement similar to the <i>alāta karāṇa</i> , but is performed in a quick tempo; compare <i>karāṇa</i> 18	No hands specified	84. IV—149b-150a 85. X—41
91.	<i>Udvṛtta</i> ⁸⁶ : the movement of the <i>karāṇa</i> is identical with the movement described in the <i>cārī</i> ⁸⁷ of that name: the violent movement important, the final <i>ākṣipta</i> leg position emphasized	The entire body is spread out and raised. The hands are not specified, but they are perhaps in <i>udvṛtta</i> ⁸⁸	86. IV—151b-152a 87. X—39 88. IX—185
92.	<i>Upasṛta</i> ⁸⁹ : from the <i>ākṣiptā cārī</i> ⁹⁰ . Compare <i>karāṇa</i> 55 above	The commentary adds that the movement of the left hand is in <i>vyāvartita</i> ⁹¹ and the right hand is held in <i>arāla</i> ⁹²	89. IV—152b-153a 90. X—37 91. IX—217 92. IX—46
93.	<i>Talasaṅghaṭṭita</i> ⁹³ : is derived from the <i>dolapādā cārī</i> ⁹⁴ : the distance between the two feet in the final position is two <i>tālas</i> : compare <i>karāṇa</i> 84 and 86 above	The hands come together and clap and are released in <i>recita</i> movement	93. IV—153b-154a 94. X—36
94.	<i>Janita</i> ⁹⁵ : derived from <i>janitā cārī</i> ⁹⁶ , where one foot is in <i>agratalasañcara</i> ⁹⁷	One hand is held in <i>muṣṭi</i> near the chest and the other is hung in <i>latā hasta</i>	95. IV—154b-155a X—25 97. IX—274-275
95.	<i>Avahitthaka</i> ⁹⁸ : from the <i>janitā cārī</i> ⁹⁹	The hands are gradually lowered from a high position above the head towards the chest. The hands are also in <i>avahittha</i> ¹⁰⁰	IV—155b-156a X—25 100. IX—156
97.	<i>Elakākriḍita</i> ¹⁰¹ : from the <i>cārī</i> ¹⁰² of that name: jumping with <i>talasañcara</i> feet	The torso is slightly bent and twisted	101. IV—157b-158a 102. X—20

No.	Karaṇa	Hastas (hands) and other limbs	NS Verse No.
98.	<i>Ūrūdvṛtta</i> ¹⁰³ : derived from the <i>cārī</i> ¹⁰⁴ of that name: the knees are bent in <i>nata</i> and the thighs are <i>udvar-tana</i> ¹⁰⁵	Hands move in <i>vyāvartita</i> and then rest on hips in the final position	^{103.} IV—158b-159a ^{104.} X—22 ^{105.} IX—256b-257a
99.	<i>Madaskhalita</i> ¹⁰⁶ : derived from the <i>āviddhā cārī</i> ¹⁰⁷ : initial position of feet in <i>svastika</i>	The head moves in the <i>parivāhita</i> ¹⁰⁸ , and the arms hang down	^{106.} IV—159b-160a ^{107.} X—38 ^{108.} VIII—27
100.	<i>Viṣṇukrānta</i> ¹⁰⁹ : the leg is extended out high on its own side without a knee bend: this is an extreme position of the <i>daṇḍapādā cārī</i> ¹¹⁰ , where the foot is lifted from the ground to the level of the waist	The two hands are in <i>recita</i>	^{109.} IV—160b-161a ^{110.} X—44
104.	<i>Vṛṣabhakrīḍita</i> ¹¹¹ : from the <i>alātā cārī</i> ¹¹² like <i>karaṇa</i> 18 and 89	The arms move in <i>recita</i> with a <i>vyāvartita</i> movement of the hands	^{111.} IV—164b-156a ^{112.} X—41
107.	<i>Śakaṭāśya</i> ¹¹³ : derived from the <i>cārī</i> ¹¹⁴ of this name: it also uses the <i>agrataḷa-saṅcara</i> ¹¹⁵ foot and the <i>udvāhita</i> ¹¹⁶ chest. The <i>karaṇa</i> , however, seems to be an acrobatic one like the <i>cakramaṇḍala</i> , judging from the sculpture in Cidambaram	The <i>kaṭakāmukha</i> hands are in front at the chest level	^{113.} IV—167b-168a ... X—16 ^{115.} IX—275 ff. IX—231
108.	<i>Gaṅgāvatarāṇa</i> ¹¹⁷ : is also an acrobatic <i>karaṇa</i> rarely seen in dancing	Hands are in <i>tripatākā</i> , the feet and the heels are lifted up and weight of the body rests on the hands	^{117.} IV—168b-169a

Sculptural representation of *karaṇas* derived from *cārīs*

4. *Apaviddha*: *TL* and *NSII* agree: the arm positions are accurately depicted in the *karaṇa* but the crossing of the thighs is not seen in the sculpture. However,

neither the *śukatunḍa* hands nor the *kaṭakāmukha hastas* are clearly discernible in the sculpture.

18. *Alāta*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the final position of the legs, i.e., of the *ūrdhvajānu cārī* is seen in the sculpture: the hands are also accurately depicted hanging down.

24. *Bhujāṅgatrāsita*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the leg positions in the sculpture conform to the description closely, and one can see the crossed hips and the uplifted right leg and the *karihasta* clearly. The *karihasta*, however, is not mentioned by the text: instead, a *dola hasta* and a *kaṭakāmukha hasta* are prescribed. This *karāṇa* should be compared also with *karāṇa* 35, viz., *bhujāṅgatrāstarecita* and *karāṇa* 40, viz., *bhujāṅgāñcita*.

25. *Ūrdhvajānu*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the sculpture conforms closely to the description in the verse. No hands are specified in the text: in the figure one arm is held in *latā*, the other is in *patākā* near the chest.

27. *Mattalli*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the sculpture shows a movement which is not easy to identify as the *mattalli*, for the text indicates a crossing of the ankles and a turning: the latter cannot be depicted in sculpture: the *apaviddha* movement of the arms and the *udveṣṭita* movement of the hands also cannot be depicted: the sculpture shows a *kuñcita* foot, one hand near the chest and the other resting on the hip. The sculpture depicts at best an intermediary position and not the initial or final position.

28. *Ardhamattalli*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: there is hardly any difference between the figures of *karāṇa* 27 and 28: the left foot is in *kuñcita* instead of the right and the left hand is extended in *latā* instead of an infolded arm with the hand near the chest seen in *karāṇa* 27. The relief thus depicts the hands accurately but the closing and the extending of the feet mentioned in the text cannot be seen in the sculpture. The *recita* of the hands seems to be depicted often as the *dola hasta* in these sculptures.

34. *Daṇḍapakṣa*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the sculpture accurately depicts the *ūrdhvajānu cārī* initial position of the knees and the leg but the foot is not uplifted from the ground as in *karāṇa* 25 above. The hand and arm position is more accurate where both the arms are beautifully extended out like a staff.

35. *Bhujāṅgatrasta recita*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the sculpture, however, depicts the final position after the *recita*, for there is no twist of the body and the feet seem to be in *samapāda* though slightly apart from each other. One of the arms suggests the *karihasta*, the other is extended in *latā hasta* on its own side.

36. *Nūpura*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the initial position where the *añcita* right foot is taken to the back of the left foot in the *cārī* is seen in the sculpture. The arms are clearly seen extended in *latā*.

38. *Bhramara*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the sculpture shows the initial position where the *kṣipta svastika* knees position is attained by a crossing of both the knees and the feet. The hands are in the chest region: the gestures in the sculpture clearly indicate the turning round the *trika* of the *bhramarī* and *ākṣiptā cārī*.

40. *Bhujāṅgāñcita*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the figure has a great deal in common with the figure of *karāṇa* 24, but the waist does not turn to such an extent. The hands are also different: the extended arms of the figure suggest the *recita* movement mentioned in the text.

41. *Daṇḍakarecita*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: one leg and both arms are extended like a staff. The final position of the *karāṇa* is depicted in the sculpture.

51. *Krānta*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the final position of the *atīkrāntā cārī* is seen in the figure, but the extended leg has an *añcita* foot instead of a *kuñcita* foot mentioned in *NŚ*. The hands do not show the *kaṭakāmukha* hands as described by the text: they are instead in *patākā* with one palm facing out and fingers pointing up, the other facing in.

53. *Cakramaṇḍala*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the sculpture shows an acrobatic movement and it is only from the sculpture that we can say that the *NŚ* description may have meant a movement similar to the one sculptured: for otherwise there is little else besides the name to denote exactly such a movement, even though anatomically it is possible to attain this posture from the *uromaṇḍala* hands. The clue to the movement can be obtained only from the text's mentioning that the body is held between the two arms.

55. *Ākṣipta*: *TL* and *NŚII* differ: *TL* identifies a figure as *karāṇa* 55 which does not come anywhere near the description of the text. The figure which *NŚII* identifies also does not fulfil the description of *NŚ*. The crossing at the shank level and the lifting of the *kuñcita* foot is not seen in any of the figures: the *svastika karāṇas* like 22 etc. would approximate to the description more closely. The *NŚII* pose is one which may be attained as a result of an extreme *kṣipta* flexion of the *jānu*, but the contact with the floor of the shank and the knee of one leg is not mentioned in the text or the commentary. In the figure identified by *NŚII*, only the placing of the hands in the *caturaśra* accords with the textual description.

60. *Dolāpāda*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the sculpture also illustrates the description of the text as far as the leg movement is concerned, but the swung leg does not

have an *añcita* foot: it has both the feet in *samapāda*, instead: both the hands are also not shown in *dola*: one is in *dola*, the other in *patākā* near the chest. The final position of the movement seems to have been attempted. In the figure identified by *NŚII* as *karāṇa* 68, of *gajakrīḍita*, a clearer *ḍolāpāda* is observed.

62. *Vinivṛtta*: *TL* and *NŚII* differ: the figure identified as *karāṇa* 62 by *TL* belongs more to the *vṛścika* variety and does not depict the lifting of the *kuñcita* foot to the knee level prescribed by the text: the final position of the *kuñcita* foot placed on the side of the *samapāda* foot is seen in the *NŚII* figure. The *recita* of the hands is, however, indicated only in the *TL* figure, and the *latā hasta* taken across the body, as in the *NŚII* figure, seems to be an inaccurate representation. *NŚI* does not illustrate this *karāṇa*. None of the figures identified accord with the description in *NŚ*.

63. *Pārśvakrānta*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the final position of the *pārśvakrāntā cārī* seems to be depicted in the figure, where the *kuñcita* foot is brought to the side of the *samapāda* foot. The hands are not specified in *NŚ*; the sculpture shows one hand near the chest and the other hung in *dola hasta* towards the knee. The sculptural representation is not very accurate.

65. *Vidyudbhrānta*: *TL* and *NŚII* differ: the *TL* figure seems to be incorrect and the *NŚII* figure is closer to the description of the *karāṇa* of that name. The leg is taken right back and uplifted; the foot touches the head, one arm is extended in *latā* to its own side and the other hangs in *dola* in front¹⁴⁶.

66. *Atikrānta*: *TL* and *NŚII* differ: neither of the figures represent the description in the text. The figure identified as *karāṇa* 66 in *TL* is the *karāṇa* identified by *NŚII* as the *argala* (*karāṇa* 57): the *NŚII* figure also does not show the movement and can at best be the final position of the *atikrāntā cārī*. The figure shows two *samapāda* feet, one hand in *latā* and the other in *dola*. The figure identified by *TL* belongs to the technique of the *vyāyāma* described in *NŚ* rather than the *nṛtta*.

73. *Pārśvajānu*: *TL* and *NŚII* differ: the *NŚII* figure shows the uplifted leg of the *cārī*. The hands are, however, neither *muṣṭi* nor *ardhacandra*, and rest neither on the thigh nor on the chest as prescribed by the text. The right hand is in *patākā* and the left arm is extended in *latā* in the sculpture. The *TL* figure indicates a sliding movement. There is no indication of the leg being lifted to the chest level. The *NŚII* figure is nearer the textual descriptions but it is also not an accurate illustration.

76. *Sūcī*: *TL* and *NŚII* differ: the *sūcī* feet can be seen in the figure identified by *NŚII* as *karāṇa* 76. *TL* seems to be wrong, and the *karāṇa* identified as *sūcī* in *TL* is really the *vidyudbhrānta karāṇa* 65. The *NŚII* figure also does not show the

uplifted foot, but has both the feet in extreme *kuñcita* position which may be interpreted as *sūcī* feet in the final position. Both the hands seem to be held in *muṣṭi* in the chest region in the figure.

77. *Ardhasūcī*: *TL* and *NŚII* differ: the *NŚII* figure identified as *karāṇa* 76 is identified as *karāṇa* 86, viz., *skhalita* by *TL*: the *NŚII* figure of *ardhasūcī* shows one *samapāda* foot and one *kuñcita* foot. The hands accord with the description in the text, and one of them is possibly held in *alapadma* in the region of the shoulders and the head; the other is placed near the chest in the figure. The figure identified by *TL* as *ardhasūcī* is identified by *NŚII* as *karāṇa* 99, viz., *madaskhalita*.

78. *Sūcīviddha*: *TL* and *NŚII* differ: the *NŚII* figure is nearer the textual description but, even so, the piercing movement of the *kuñcita* foot into the heel of the other is not observed here. The hands are as described in *NŚ*: one is held near the chest and the other rests on the hip as indicated by the text. The *TL* figure of *sūcīviddha* is a sitting position and is identified by *NŚII* as *karāṇa* 55, viz., *ākṣipta*. The *kaṭakāmukha hastas* mentioned by the commentary are not seen in either figure identified as the *sūcīviddha karāṇa*.

79. *Apakrānta*: *TL* and *NŚII* differ: the figures identified as this *karāṇa* do not meet the description of the text, for the *valana* of the thighs is not seen in either. The *NŚII* figure shows one *kuñcita* foot but this is not uplifted as it should be for the *apakrāntā cārī*. We can only surmise that the position depicted in the sculpture is either the first initial position or the absolute final position, but it is not a depiction of the movements described by the text. The arm in the *NŚII* figure is in *dola* and the other hand is in *patākā* near the chest. The figure identified by *NŚII* as *apakrānta* is identified by *TL* as *karāṇa* 65, viz., *vidyudbhrānta*.

82. *Daṇḍapāda*: *TL* and *NŚII* differ: the figure identified by *NŚII* resembles the *karāṇa* 50, *lalāṭatilaka* and would belong to the *vr̥ścika* variety in our classification and it is most unlikely that the text was left vague to suggest a similar pose. The *nūpurapādā cārī* position of the feet or the extended leg of the *daṇḍapādā cārī* is not seen in the figures identified either by *TL* or *NŚII*. The *āviddha* movement of the arms is also not seen in either figure. An intermediary position of the movement of this *karāṇa* is seen in the figure identified by *NŚII* as *karāṇa* 64, *nistambhita*. The figure identified as *krānta karāṇa* 51 by *TL* and *NŚII* seems to come nearest to depicting the final leg extension. The figure identified by *TL* as this *karāṇa* is identified by *NŚII* as *karāṇa* 69, namely, *talasamsphoṭita*. There is no other figure which approximates the description of the text of this *karāṇa* except the illustration of the *dolāpāda karāṇa* discussed earlier.

83. *Harīṇapluta*: *TL* and *NŚII* do not agree: the figure depicts the uplifted foot of the *atīkrāntā cārī* or the *añcita* foot of the *harīṇaplutā cārī*: the knee and shank

position of the figure identified in the *NŚII* does have the final *kṣipta* position with a *kuñcita* foot. The hands of the figure are in *karihasta* and *latā*, and these have not been specified in the text. The *TL* figure belongs to the *vṛścika* type and has a raised leg to the back which does not approximate to the definition in the text at all. The *NŚII* figure identified as this *karāṇa* is identified by *TL* as *karāṇa* 89, viz., *simhavikrīḍita*. The *NŚII* figure identified as this *karāṇa* depicts at best the initial position of the *atīkrāntā cārī* and no more.

84. *Preṅkholita*: *TL* and *NŚII* differ: neither of the figures identified as this *karāṇa* show the *dolāpādā cārī* position so obvious in the description of *karāṇa dolāpāda*. The *NŚII* figure has both the feet in *kuñcita*, but does not indicate that a turn will be taken or that either leg will be extended or swung as in the *bhramarī cārī*. The movement of the *trika* and the side (*pārśva*) is also not observed in either figure: there is instead a straight frontal facing in these figures. We can only conclude that the figure identified by *NŚII* perhaps depicts the initial position of the *dolāpādā cārī*, judging from the *kuñcita* feet. The sculptural representation is, however, inaccurate. The figure identified by *NŚII* as this *karāṇa* is identified by *TL* as *karāṇa* 57, viz., *argala*. The figure identified by *TL* as *preṅkholita* is identified by *NŚII* as *karāṇa* 73, viz., *pārśvajānu*, since the *NŚ* *karāṇa* describes a complete movement. It would be difficult to represent this *karāṇa* sculpturally.

85. *Nitamba*: *TL* and *NŚII* do not agree: the *NŚII* figure identified as this *karāṇa* does depict the *svastika* position of the foot. The figures identified by both *TL* and *NŚII* do illustrate the hand movements: one illustrates the initial position and the other the final position described by the text. The *TL* figure has the hands in the chest region, not in the shoulder region as mentioned by *NŚ* in the description of the *nitamba* hands: the *NŚII* figure has the hands loosely hanging on the sides in *dola hastas*, which would be the final position of the *hastas* prescribed for this *karāṇa* by *NŚ*. The figure identified by *NŚII* could represent the final position of the movement at best.

86. *Skhalita*: *TL* and *NŚII* differ: neither of the figures approximate to the text: the *dolāpādā cārī* position is not seen in either of the figures, though both the figures show one *kuñcita* foot. The *recita* of the hands is also not seen in either figure; *TL* shows one hand near the shoulder and the other spread and curved near the head region: the *NŚII* figure shows one *dola hasta* and the other in *kaṭakāmukha* or *muṣṭi* near the chest. Either of them could have been modelled to show an intermediary position of the movement of this *karāṇa*.

89. *Simhavikrīḍita*: *TL* and *NŚII* differ: the figure identified by *NŚII* as this *karāṇa* is very similar to the *alāta karāṇa* 18: the feet position of the *TL* figure are also very similar to the feet position of *karāṇa* 18. The representation of this *karāṇa* in Cidambaram seems to be imprecise, and none of the figures identified meet the

description. The backwards lifting of the foot is the most distinctive feature of the movement and this is not captured by the sculpture.

91. *Udvṛtta*: *TL* and *NSII* identify different figures as this *karāṇa*: the *TL* figure does not approximate to the textual description: the figure identified by *NSII* also seems to be imprecise if not an incorrect illustration of the text. The initial position of the *āviddhā cārī* seems to be depicted here, but the *valana* of the thighs obvious in the figure is not mentioned in the text. The figure identified as *karāṇa* 91 by *NSII* belongs to the class of *mayūralalita* and the *elakākriḍita karāṇa* where a crossing of the thighs is specifically mentioned. The hands are, however, in *udvṛtta* in the figure, identified by *NSII*. The movement described by the text indicates a jump, but the figure identified by *NSII* suggests a twist rather than a jump.

92. *Upasṛta*: *TL* and *NSII* differ: the *NSII* figure seems to depict the last position of the *ākṣiptā cārī*, where a *svastika* of the shanks is formed. The *arāla hasta* mentioned in the commentary is not seen in either figure, and the *dola hastas* of the *NSII* figure do not correspond to the *vyāvartita* movement of the hands described in the text. The figure identified by *NSII* may indicate the first position of the movement of the *karāṇa*.

93. *Talasaṅghaṭṭita*: *TL* and *NSII* figures differ slightly, but the *dolā pāda* position of the *cārī* is not seen in either figure: the hand position, in which clapping is indicated, is seen in the figure identified by *NSII* as the *karāṇa*.

94. *Janita*: *TL* and *NSII* differ completely: the *NSII* figure does not show the *talasañcara* foot mentioned by the text: the *TL* figure does depict this but the crossing at the thigh level of the legs is not mentioned by the text. The *muṣṭi hasta* is also not seen in either figure, even though the *NSII* figure does have one hand on the chest and the other extended in *latā*. The *agratalasañcara* foot, the most important feature of the *janitā cārī*, is not seen in the figures identified either by *TL* or *NSII*.

95. *Avahitthaka*: The figures identified as *karāṇa* 95 by both *TL* and *NSII* are inaccurate; the *agratalasañcara* foot is not seen in either *TL* or *NSII* figure. The *śukatunḍa hasta* of the *avahittha samyuta hasta* or the *arāla* and *alapadma hasta* mentioned by the commentary are not seen in the sculpture. The only feature which accords with the textual description is the placing of the hands in the final position in the region of the chest.

97. *Elakākriḍita*: The figure identified as the *janita karāṇa* by *TL* is identified as *karāṇa* 97 by *NSII*: the latter seems to be a correct identification and the figure identified by *NSII* illustrates the textual description fairly accurately, although both

the feet are not in *talasañcara*. Besides, the crossing at the thigh level is emphasized rather than jumping as mentioned in the text. The distance between the feet indicated by the text is accurately depicted by the figure.

98. *Ūrūdvṛtta*: *TL* and *NŚII* identify different figures: *TL* figure does not meet the description of the text: the figure identified as *karaṇa* 98 in *NŚII* is a fairly accurate representation of the textual description. The *nata* bend of the knees, and the placing of a *talasañcara* feet so as to have the heels point inwards, naturally lead to the bending of the shank and the corresponding *udvartana* movement of the thighs. One hand rests on the hip, and the head is turned round.

99. *Madaskhalita*: *TL* and *NŚII* differ: the *TL* figure identified as this *karaṇa* belongs to the *vṛścika* variety and is very much like *karaṇa* 46, namely, *vṛścika recita*. The *NŚII* figure is similar to the *karaṇas* which are derived from the *āviddhā cārī* such as *karaṇa* 14 *unmatta* and *karaṇa* 101 *sambhrānta*: the figure shows the *svastika* position of the *āviddhā cārī*: there is also a distinct incline of the head to the side but it cannot be easily identified as the *parivāhita* gesture of the head. The arms do not hang down in the sculpture as indicated by the text. They are instead placed in *caturaśra* position near the chest. The *svastika* feet position mentioned by the text is accurately depicted in the figure identified by *NŚII*.

100. *Viṣṇukrānta*: *TL* and *NŚII* differ, and this time the *TL* figure meets the description of the text more closely: the extension of the *kuñcita* foot pointing towards the sky is not seen in the *NŚII* figure of this name but it is seen in the figure identified as *viṣṇukrānta* in *TL*. The hands and arms also conform more or less to the textual description. The *vikṣipta karaṇa* (no. 58) also has a stage in the movement which can be identified with the final position of the *viṣṇukrānta karaṇa*. The *NŚII* figure is perhaps the first position of the movement described by *NŚ*.

104. *Vṛṣabhakrīḍita*: *TL* and *NŚII* differ: the figure identified as the *vṛṣabhakrīḍita* in either *TL* and *NŚII* does not meet the description of the text. According to the text, the *alātā cārī* and *recita* hands are distinctive features of the *karaṇa*: the figure identified by *NŚII* does not depict these and is instead a static figure with *samapāda* feet.

107. *Śakatāśya*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the description in *NŚ* does not state explicitly that the movement is an acrobatic one: it also does not speak of the toes touching the head after being turned backwards and upwards, which would naturally presuppose the belly resting on the ground. The sculptural representation of the *karaṇa* does not seem to have the *talasañcara* feet or the *kaṭakāmukha hasṛas* mentioned by *NŚ*. This illustration has never been questioned and the movement described by *NŚ* could perhaps be interpreted to include the movement shown by the sculpture: the sculpture seems to follow an oral tradition more than the academic

text. A clue is given by the commentary when it says that the movement is to be employed in showing children's play, and that this suggests a cart-wheel being thrown forward.

108. *Gaṅgāvatarāṇa*: It is another acrobatic *karāṇa* but this time the description of *NŚ* suggests such a pose when it speaks of both the feet being lifted up and the *tripatākā* hands as facing the ground; physically, this could be performed only if the hands were in contact with the ground, and this is accurately presented by the sculpture.

Karaṇas (kaṭi)

No.	<i>Karāṇa</i>	<i>Hastas</i> , feet etc.	<i>NŚ</i> Verse No.
11.	<i>Kaṭicchinna</i> ¹ : the <i>kaṭi</i> is in <i>chinna</i> ² position	Hands are <i>pallava</i> ³ . No feet etc. prescribed. The commentary also mentions the <i>bhramarī cārī</i> ⁴ and the <i>maṇḍala sthāna</i> ⁵	¹ . IV—71b-72a ² . IX—245 ³ . IX—196 ⁴ . X—45 ⁵ . X—65
19.	<i>Kaṭi sama</i> ⁶ : the <i>kaṭi</i> is in <i>sama</i> position. The commentary mentions the <i>ākṣiptā cārī</i> ⁷ and also the <i>vaiṣṇava sthāna</i> ⁸	Feet are to be separated from the <i>svastika</i> position without moving the hip: the chest attains <i>udvāhita</i> ⁹ from the <i>pārśva nata</i> position. Hands are held on the navel in <i>kaṭakū-mukha</i> ¹⁰	⁶ . IV—80b-81a ⁷ . X—37 ⁸ . IX—52-53 ⁹ . IX—231 ¹⁰ . IX—61
43.	<i>Kaṭibhrānta</i> ¹¹ : there is a <i>recita</i> ¹² movement of the <i>kaṭi</i>	The feet are in <i>sūcī cārī</i> ¹³ ; the arms have a circular movement in <i>apaviddha</i> ¹⁴	¹¹ . IV—103b-104a ¹² . IX—246—247 ¹³ . X—34 ¹⁴ . IX—220
45.	<i>Chinna</i> ¹⁵ : the <i>kaṭi</i> is bent in <i>chinna</i> ¹⁶	The <i>alapadma</i> ¹⁷ <i>hastas</i> are held on the hip: the feet are in <i>vaiśākha sthāna</i> ¹⁸	¹⁵ . IV—105b-106a ¹⁶ . IX—245 ¹⁷ . IX—91 ¹⁸ . X—61

Sculptural representation of *kaṭi karaṇas*

11. *Kaṭicchinna*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the sculptural representation, however, does not depict clearly the *chinna* position of the *kaṭi* or the leg position of the *bhramarī cārī*: the *pallava nṛtta hastas* are also not clear but there is a space between the feet, and the hands are spread out extended above the shoulder level and the general impression corresponds to the description of the text, even though in minute details there is some inaccuracy.

19. *Kaṭisama*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: even though the *karaṇa* takes its name from the position of the *kaṭi*, there is little in the description of *NŚ* which refers to the movement of the *kaṭi*. The sculpture portrays the final position described in *NŚ*, for the hands rest on the hips—perhaps in *ardhacandra hastas*; the *udvāhita* of the chest is quite pronounced. There is nothing in the sculpture to indicate the movements of the *ākṣiptā cārī*, although the *kṣipta* position of the knees is quite clear.

43. *Kaṭibhrānta*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: but the sculpture does not depict the *sūcī cārī* position indicated in *NŚ*: instead, the position of the legs in the sculpture corresponds more closely to the interpretation of Abhinavagupta in the commentary where he speaks of the sideways movement of the feet. It would be impossible to depict the *recita* movement of the waist and the hip, and thus all that the sculpture succeeds in depicting is one point in a continuous movement. The position of the hands also does not correspond to the description in *NŚ*.

45. *Chinna*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the sculpture is also fairly accurate in portraying the *chinna* position of the *kaṭi*; the hands rest on the hip and they may be in *alapadma*, although this is not clear in the sculpture.

Karaṇa (pāda)

No.	<i>Karaṇa--Pāda</i>	<i>Hastas</i> etc.	<i>NŚ</i> Verse No.
21.	<i>Vikṣiptākṣipta</i> ¹ : the hands and the feet are both thrown out	One hand in a <i>vyāvartita</i> movement and the other in <i>catura hasta</i> . The movement is reversed in the final position. Abhinavagupta adds that it should be used for going and coming	¹ IV—82
23.	<i>Añcita</i> ² : the feet are in <i>añcita</i> ³ and then a <i>svastika</i> is performed	Hands move in <i>vyāvartita</i> and <i>parivartita</i> movement: in the final pose one hand is near the nose	IV 83b-84a IX—276-278
30	<i>Pādāpaviddha</i> ⁴ : feet are first in <i>sūcīviddhā cārī</i> ⁶ and are then moved to the <i>apakrāntā cārī</i> ⁶ position	Hands are in <i>kaṭakā-mukha</i> ⁵ near the navel	⁴ IV 90b-91a. ⁵ IX - 279 ⁶ X 34 and X -31
56.	<i>Paṭavilāṣita</i> ⁷ : one leg is extended; the feet position resembles the <i>añcita</i> feet, for the toes are turned up and the soles of the feet are visible	Hands are in <i>pataka</i> which separate and meet as they move from a high position to a low one, palms face down	⁷ IV - 116b-117a
57.	<i>Argala</i> ⁸ : one leg is extended backwards; feet are placed two and a half <i>tālas</i> apart	The body is bent in a back convex curve, and both the hands are extended up and back to touch the ground	IV—117b-118a
58.	<i>Vikṣipta</i> ⁹ : the knees are in <i>kṣipta</i> ¹⁰ ; feet and both hands are in <i>vikṣipta</i> away from the body	The extended outward movement of the hands is emphasized. The commentary mentions the <i>vidyudbhrāntā cārī</i> also	⁹ IV—118b-119a ¹⁰ IX—257-258
59.	<i>Āvarta</i> ¹¹ : this is really derived from the <i>cāṣagatī cārī</i> ¹² (X. 18) even though <i>NŚ</i> mentions that the feet are in <i>āvarta</i>	The commentary adds that the hands move in <i>āveṣṭita</i> and <i>udveṣṭita</i> ¹³ movement	IV- -119b-120a X--18 IX--216

No	Karaṇa Pāda	Hastas etc.	NS Verse No.
70.	<i>Garuḍapluta</i> ¹⁴ : one leg is stretched back and the foot is in <i>añcita</i> . This <i>karaṇa</i> really belongs to the <i>vr̥ścika</i> variety with a difference: the uplifted leg has an infolded knee and not an arched one as in the other <i>vr̥ścika karaṇas</i>	The side is in <i>unnata</i> ¹⁵ : the hands and arms move in <i>latā recita</i>	¹⁴ . IV—130b-131a IX—236-237
71.	<i>Gaṇḍasūcī</i> ¹⁶ : one foot is in <i>sūcīpāda</i> : the other is in <i>samapāda</i> position	The side (<i>pārśva</i>) is bent in <i>nata</i> ¹⁷ : hands are in <i>añcita</i> , and <i>sūcīmukha nṛtta hastas</i> ¹⁸ during the movement but in the final position one rests on the chest and the other as a <i>sūcī asaṁyuta hasta</i> ¹⁹ on the cheek	¹⁶ . IV—131b-132a ¹⁷ . IX—239 ¹⁸ . IX—191 ¹⁹ . IX—67-74
74.	<i>Gr̥dhrāvalīnaka</i> ²⁰ : the feet are in slight <i>añcita</i> , and the knee is bent in the initial position: during the movement the leg moves front and back	The hands and arms are stretched in <i>latā</i> : the side is stretched and extended in <i>prasārita</i> ²¹	²⁰ . IV—134b-135a ²¹ . IX—235-256
81.	<i>Sarpita</i> ²² : the feet are in <i>añcita</i> ²³ and moved apart in semi-circular movement of a snake	The head follows the feet in <i>parivāhita</i> ²⁴ movement: the hands and arms move in <i>recita</i>	IV—141b-142a IX—275 VIII—27
88.	<i>Prasarpita</i> ²⁵ : the movement is circular but the feet are in <i>agratalasañcara</i> here	Hands are in <i>latā</i> ²⁶ and <i>recita</i> and the head is as in <i>karaṇa</i> 81	IV—148b-149a IX—198
102.	<i>Viṣkambha</i> ²⁷ : knees are bent in <i>nikuṭṭita</i> : feet are in <i>kuñcita</i> : in the final position, one foot is in the <i>sūcīpādā cārī</i> ²⁸	According to the commentary, hands are in <i>sūcīmukha nṛtta hastas</i> . ²⁹ One of them is held on the chest	²⁷ . IV—162b-163a ²⁸ . X—34 ²⁹ . IX—191
103.	<i>Udghaṭṭita</i> ³⁰ : feet are in <i>udghaṭṭita</i> ³¹ , i.e. toe-heel movement	The hands are in <i>talasañghaṭṭa</i> derived from the <i>talamukha nṛtta hastas</i> ³² : they are brought together and released	³⁰ . IV—163b-164a ³¹ . IX—266 ³² . IX—186

Sculptural representation of *karaṇas* derived from foot (*pāda*) positions

21. *Vikṣiptākṣipta*: The movement described by *NŚ* is an alternate throwing out of one leg and one arm. The outward and inward movement of the limbs is suggested by the commentary. The movement is difficult to represent sculpturally and the relief of the *karaṇa* shows the left hand in *muṣṭi* (may be in *catura*) and the other extended down in *latā*. The knees are in *kṣipta* and the feet are *samapāda*. This can at best be the initial position implied by the text. Other *karaṇas* such as *ākṣipta recita* suggesting throwing out of the limbs which would result in leg extensions etc. have also been sculptured in Cidambaram by merely showing the *kṣipta samapāda* position of the lower limbs.

23. *Añcita*: *TL* and *NŚ II* agree: the sculpture in Cidambaram depicts the movement described by *NŚ*. The text mentions the *svastika* position of the feet, and the commentary adds that the arms are to be in *karihasta* position or *latā*—both of which are seen in the sculpture; the *vyāvartita* and *parivartita* are movements of the fingers, and it is likely that this definition gave enough freedom to the sculptor to interpret the finger positions as he wished. The *svastika* position of the feet depicted is identical with the *svastika* position of the other *karaṇas* like *ardhasvastika* and *svastika* etc., and the hand and arm positions resemble the arm and hand position of the *karaṇa* 24, *bhujāṅgatrāsita*, and the *karaṇa* 87, *karihasta*: *NŚ* specifies that one hand should be near the nose; this, however, is not followed and, instead, one *patākā* hand is seen near the shoulder level while the other is in *latā* across the body.

30. *Pādāpaviddha*: *TL* and *NŚ II* agree: the sculpture shows a *sūcī* foot resting against the heel of the *samapāda* foot; yet this is not an accurate presentation of either the *sūcīviddhā cārī* or the *apakrāntā cārī* mentioned in the text. The hands are described in the text as being near the navel and in *kaṭakāmukha*: in the sculpture the hands are at the chest level, and not clearly in *kaṭakāmukha*. One hand certainly seems in the *muṣṭi*.

56. *Talavilāsita*: *TL* and *NŚ II* identify different figures: the leg extension and the visibility of the soles of the feet are the two distinctive features mentioned by *NŚ*, and neither of the figures accords with this description. The figure identified by *NŚ II* belongs to the *vṛścika* type of *karaṇa* and shows an upturned leg, not an extended one: the arms are upturned with the hands near the face: the only *karaṇas* which show the *añcita* foot are the *karihasta karaṇa* and the *vyamāsita karaṇa* and *krāntaka* in the Cidambaram sculptures, while many *karaṇas* in *NŚ* mention this foot position. The figure identified by *NŚ II* can at best represent the final position, where one leg is extended backward and then lifted. The uplifting is mentioned only by the commentary.

57. *Argala*: *TL* and *NŚ II* do not agree: the sculptural representation (according to *NŚII*) makes this *karana* also of the acrobatic variety like *cakramandala*, *śakaṭāsya* and the *gaṅgāvatarana* rather than one belonging to the sphere of dancing: *TL* mentions this as *atīkrānta* which is obviously incorrect. The description in *NŚ* can lead to the final position of the body as portrayed in the sculpture, but other movements can be contained within the definition of *NŚ* and, therefore, it cannot be said with certainty that the sculptural figure as identified by either *TL* or *NŚII* is correct.

58. *Vikṣipta*: *TL* and *NŚII* differ: the figure which *NŚII* identifies as *karana* 58 is identified by *TL* as *viṣṇukrānta karana*: *TL* *vikṣipta* is incorrect and cannot be considered as a correct depiction of *NŚ* *vikṣipta karana*. The extension of the leg and the hands is seen in the figure of *NŚII* and the *vikṣipta* position of the knees and the hands mentioned by the text are also noticed here. The *NŚII* figure depicts an important phase of movement of the *vikṣipta karana* and the sculptural representation is obviously of this intermediary position of the movement and not of either the initial or final position.

59. *Āvarta*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the posture seen in the sculpture is the common *kṣipta* position of the knees with one *kuñcita* foot; the front-back movement of the *cāṣagati cārī* mentioned in the commentary is, however, not suggested. The movement of the *āvarta karana* does not lend itself to sculptural representation, thus only a common position of the legs has been depicted. The *uāveṣṭita* of the hands cannot also be depicted in sculpture, and the Cidambaram figure shows us two *muṣṭi hastas* at the chest level. The sculpture represents the initial position described by the text and gives no indication of the subsequent movement.

70. *Garuḍapluta*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the sculpture is an accurate depiction of the movement described by the text; there is hardly any discrepancy between the description and the illustration. *NŚ* (1st edition) does not illustrate this figure.

71. *Gaṇḍasūcī*: *TL* and *NŚII* differ: the *sūcī pāda* mentioned by the *NŚ* is not seen in the *NŚII* figure: instead, one foot is at the back of another *samapāda* foot and may be in *kuñcita*. The feet position of the *NŚII* figure could accord with the description in the commentary where it is mentioned that one foot is to be placed at the back of the other foot. The hands are in the final position mentioned by *NŚ*; one hand is on the chest and the other is placed under the chin, although not on the cheek as prescribed by *Bharata*.

74. *Gr̥dhrāvalīnaka*: *TL* and *NŚII* identify different figures as *karana* 74. The *TL* figure is incorrect when compared with the definition of the *karana* in *NŚ*: the figure identified by *NŚII* accurately portrays the hand position in *latā*, but the foot position does not correctly illustrate the movement described in the

text, for the *trika* is turned in the figure—a fact not mentioned by the text. Nevertheless, judging from the kite-like movement implied by the name of the *karana*, it is quite likely that the *NŚ grdhrāvalīnaka karana* was performed as shown in the *NŚII* figure: one knee is definitely bent in the figure as laid down in the text and the other leg is also thrown backwards, even though not 'extended backwards' as stated in *NŚ*. The sculpture represents a near final position of the movement described by the text.

81. *Sarpita*: *TL* and *NŚII* figures differ, but neither of them seems to follow the description of *NŚ*: the *NŚII* figure is accurate only in so far as the *parivāhita* head movement and the *recita hastas* go: the *añcita* foot mentioned in the text is not seen in either figure; instead, the *TL* figure has both the feet in *kuñcita* and the *NŚII* figure has one foot in *kuñcita*. The knees are *kṣipta* in both. There is no other *karana* amongst the Cidambaram *gopuram* sculptures which approximates to this description. The Cidambaram sculptures seldom illustrate the *añcita* foot accurately, and it is often depicted as the *kuñcita* foot.

88. *Prasarpita*: The *TL* figure seems incorrectly identified; the *NŚII* figure depicts the movements of the *karana* as far as the *latā hasta* goes, but the coming together of the soles which suggests the *talsañcara* position of the feet is not seen in the sculpture.

102. *Viṣkambha*: The *TL* figure is incorrectly identified, and the *NŚII* figure identified as *karana* 82 is correct with regard to the hand positions as described in *NŚ*; one of them is held on the chest and the other might easily be in the *apaviddha sūcī*, though its gesture is not clear and it is held at the chest. The legs and knees are in *mkuṭṭita* and one foot in the *NŚII* figure is in *sūcī pāda*. The figure thus depicts the initial position of the hands and the final position of the feet.

103. *Udghaṭṭita karana*: it is difficult to present in sculpture, for its chief feature is the toe-heel movement of the feet. Nevertheless, the *NŚII* figure shows two *kuñcita* feet which might easily be the initial position of the *udghaṭṭita* feet movement. However, the hands are incorrectly represented in the sculpture, as their position does not indicate that they are ready to beat time, a fact mentioned by the commentary.

Karaṇa (from *ūru*, *jānu*, etc.)

No.	<i>Karaṇa</i> , <i>ūru</i> , <i>jānu</i> and <i>pārśva</i>	<i>Hastas</i> etc.	<i>NS</i> Verse No.
3.	<i>Valitoru</i> ¹ : from the <i>valita</i> entwining of thighs	Both the hands are in <i>śūkatuṇḍa</i> and they make a <i>vyāvartita</i> and <i>parivartita</i> movement	¹ . IV—63
52.	<i>Kuñcita</i> ² : a half-kneeling position: the leg bent at the back has the knee in contact with the ground and the calf raised; the other leg is bent in front with a <i>samapāda</i> foot on the ground	The right hand in a slightly raised position is in <i>alapallava</i> on the left side	² . IV—112b-113a
61.	<i>Vivṛtta</i> ³ : this is the extreme position of the <i>kṣipta</i> ⁴ knees, where one fore-leg rests on the ground. The side (<i>pārśva</i>) is turned-round in <i>vivartita</i> ⁵ movement	The arms are extended and move in <i>recita</i> . The commentary also mentions the <i>bhramarī cārī</i> ⁶	³ . IV—121b-122a ⁴ . IX—257-258 ⁵ . IX—239-240 ⁶ . X.
62.	<i>Vinivṛtta</i> : the name is derived from a movement of the sacrum; the feet positions are as in <i>sūcī carī</i> . Also mentioned in the <i>cārī karaṇas</i> above ⁷	For hand see <i>karaṇa</i> 62 under the <i>cārī karaṇas</i>	⁷ . IV—122b-123a
64.	<i>Niśumbhita</i> ⁸ : derived from the <i>nirbhugna</i> ⁹ position of the chest and the <i>unnatta</i> ¹⁰ of the side (<i>pārśva</i>)	A movement of the <i>kuñcita</i> feet is indicated; the backward extended leg can also form a <i>vṛścika</i> . Hands are in <i>kaṭakāmuḥka</i> , one of them touching the forehead	124b-125a IX—216 ¹⁰ IX—239-240
67.	<i>Vivartita</i> ¹¹ : name derived from the circular movement of the side and the sacrum (<i>trika</i>) termed	The hands are as in <i>karaṇa</i> 62; two <i>hamsapakṣa hastas</i> are moved in <i>recita</i> in a fast tempo	¹² IV—127b-128a IX—239—240

No.	<i>Karaṇa</i> , <i>ūru</i> , <i>jānu</i> and <i>pārśva</i>	<i>Hastas</i> etc.	<i>NŚ</i> Verse No.
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*vivartita*¹². The *karaṇa* is similar to *karaṇa* 61 mentioned above; here also the knee and the calf of one leg are in contact with the ground in an outstretched position of the thigh

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| <p>72. <i>Parivṛtta</i>¹³: derives its name from the <i>parivṛtta</i> movement of the <i>trika</i>. The <i>parivṛtta</i>¹⁴, however, is a movement of the shanks: here a turning round is implied and a <i>vivartana</i>¹⁵ movement of the side is indicated. One foot is in <i>sūcī</i> and the movement of the <i>baddhā cārī</i> is performed</p> | <p>The movement of the hands is described as <i>ūrdhvāpaveṣṭita</i>, which is the <i>ūrdhva maṇḍala nṛtta-hasta</i>¹⁶. The commentary describes the <i>karaṇa</i> as being formed by a mixture of the <i>sūcī baddhā</i> and the <i>bhramarī cārīs</i>¹⁷</p> | <p>¹³. IV—132b-133a
 ¹⁴. IX—262b-263a
 ¹⁵. IX—236-238
 ¹⁶. IX—203
 ¹⁷. X—34, 21 & 45</p> |
|---|--|---|

Sculptural representation of *karaṇas* derived from *ūru*, *jānu*, etc.

3. *Valitoru*: The text clearly states that the thighs are so entwined that the knees point inwards; the *śukatuṇḍa hastas* are also mentioned. The sculptural relief, however, does not show any of these features. Neither is there an entwining of the thighs nor are the *śukatuṇḍa* hands seen. Many reliefs in Cidambaram show the common *kṣipta* position of the knees with some hand movements without illustrating the verse accurately. In this particular *karaṇa* the movement lent itself to a sculptural representation easily and it is surprising that none of the characteristic features have been captured in the relief.

52. *Kuñcita*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the sculpture also depicts the *karaṇa* accurately with one *nata* knee and a *samapāda* foot in front; the other leg is flexed at the back touching the ground, with the calf lifted. The hands are also in front and may be in *alapallava*, but this is not clear in the sculptural representation.

61. *Vivṛtta*: *TL* and *NŚII* agree: the sculpture depicts the final position. The arms are seen extended in *recita* and the extreme *kṣipta* position of one shank is also seen. It is practically a sitting posture.

62. *Vinivṛtta*: has been discussed before, and we have noticed the discrepancies between the description in the text and the sculptural representation of the pose. The *svastika* position mentioned by the text is not seen in the relief.

64. *Niśumbhita* or *nistambhita*: The *TL* and the *NŚII* figures differ, but neither is an accurate depiction of the *karāṇa* described in *NŚ*. The foot is taken to the back and is bent in *kuñcita* according to *NŚ*: in the *NŚII* figure the leg position is like the *ūrdhvajānu cārī*, and in the *TL* figure it is like the *vidyudbhrānta karāṇa* or the *lalāṭatilaka karāṇa*: the *NŚ* description would have resulted in a position akin to that seen in the figure identified as the *simhākarṣita karāṇa* by *NŚII*. The hands do touch the forehead in the figure although the *kaṭakāmukha* hand is not clear. The sculptural representation suggests only the initial position of the movement.

67. *Vivartita*: *TL* and *NŚII* identify different figures, and neither of them is an accurate representation of the *NŚ* description of the *karāṇa*. The extreme *kṣipta* position of the knees and shanks is depicted in the figure identified by *NŚII* but the hands and arms position of the figure is something like the *karihasta* rather than the *recita* laid down by Bharata. The *vivartita* movement of the *trika* would not be possible if the hands were to be in the position of the *NŚII* figure. The twisting around of the waist could not be represented by the sculpture.

72. *Parivṛtta*: The *NŚII* figure depicts the *ūrdhvamaṇḍala hastas* described by *NŚ*: in *TL* the same figure is identified as the *karāṇa gajakrīdita* which seems to be completely inaccurate. The turning round of the shanks in the *parivṛtta* movement is, however, not noticed even in the *NŚII* figure. The initial position in which one foot is in *sūcī* is seen in the sculpture, but there is no indication of the *baddhā cārī* or the twisting of the thighs.

The analysis of the *karāṇas* as cadences of movement patterns could be profitably extended to an analysis of the *aṅgahāras*, *maṇḍalas*, etc. However, this analysis would be meaningful only if the tradition of Bharata was still prevalent in the practice of these arts. This not being the case, such an analysis is not being undertaken here.

Notes

1. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. I, 14-16. The word used is *saṃvatsīpa*. Also see Ch. VI, 5-7, where it is said that it is impossible to discuss all the arts and crafts connected with drama, for they are manifold in number.
2. *ibid.*, Ch. I, 116.
3. *ibid.*, Ch. I, 117-118.
4. *ibid.*, Ch. I, 119—*abhinaya* includes all the four types of *abhinaya* viz., *vācika*, *āhāraya*, *sāttvika* and *āṅgika*.
5. *ibid.*, Ch. I, 14-15, 106-108, 116-118, etc. for definitions of *nāṭya* (drama). Ch. IV, 263-264 and 304, where the use of *nṛtta* (dance) is discussed. Ch. V, 150-152, where 'dance' is discussed in the preliminaries of the play. Ch. VI, 10-22, where the subjects of *Nāṭyaśāstra* are listed, and 23-26, where the two *dharmīs*, the four *vṛttis*, the four types of *abhinaya* and the four types of local usage (*pravṛttis*) are listed.
In Ch. VIII, IX, X and XII the various aspects of *āṅgikābhinaya* are discussed.
The *pravṛttis* are discussed in detail in Ch. XII, 27 ff. The *dharmīs* and the styles (*vṛttis*) are discussed in Ch. XX.
Ahārayābhinaya and *Sāmānyābhinaya* are discussed in Ch. XXI and XXII, respectively; the graces and histrionic representation etc. are also discussed here.
Citrābhinaya is discussed in Ch. XXV.
(Chapters refer to *Nāṭyaśāstra*, G.O.S. edition, Vol. I, Vol. II and Vol. III)
6. *ibid.*, Ch. IV, 261 and 268, where the nature of *nṛtta* is discussed.
Abhinayadarpana, 11-12 and 15-16.
Saṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 4, 16-17 and 26-27.
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, pp. 29-31 practically repeat the verse of the *Saṅgītaratnākara*.
7. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. IV, 259-260.
8. *ibid.*, Ch. IV, 268-269.
9. *Ibid.*, Ch. XVII, 182 (*Kāvya-mālā* Series) and *ibid.*, Ch. XIX, 119-129 etc. (G.O.S.)
There have been different interpretations of these verses.
10. *Abhinayadarpana*, 3-5.
11. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. VII, 12-14.
12. *Abhinayadarpana*, 42-45.
Saṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 37-41.
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, pp. 40-42.
13. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. X, 5.
14. *ibid.*, Ch. IV, 30-34.
15. *ibid.*, Ch. X, 3-4.
16. *ibid.*, Ch. XI, 2-5.
17. *ibid.*, Ch. IV, 30-34.
18. *ibid.*, Ch. XI, 6-9.
19. *Abhinayadarpana*, 282-298.
20. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. IV, 248-250, here also the word used for *lāsya* is *sukumāra nṛtya*.
21. *ibid.*, Ch. IV, 250-259 and 287-290.
22. *ibid.*, Ch. IV, 290 ff. also see Abhinavagupta's interesting commentary on this and Śāradātanaya's *Bhāvaprakāśa*, p. 246.
23. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. XIII, 78-80; also see Raghavan, V.'s article entitled *Nāṭyadharmī* and *Lokadharmī*.
24. *ibid.*, Ch. XXIV, 45 (Chowkambha Series).
25. *ibid.*, Ch. XXI, 47 (Chowkambha Series).
26. *Abhinayadarpana*, 35-36. *Saṅgītaratnākara* and *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* repeat the verse.
27. The subdivisions of each of these movements with their usage have not been shown in the chart: the *aṅgas* and the *upāṅgas* are utilized in both the *nṛtta* and the *abhinaya* techniques.
28. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. I, 1.
29. *Nāṭyaveda* was compiled from the four *Vedas* and the *Upavedas* and is known to be the fifth *Veda*.
Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. I, 17-18. also see Abhinavagupta's commentary at p. 15 (G.O.S. II). *Gandharvaveda* was an *Upaveda* of the *Sāmaveda*.
30. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. I, 26-39. for names of the sons of Bharata.
Ch. XXXVI (Chowkambha edition), 63-65 ff.
31. Raghavan, V.: *Music in Ancient Indian Drama*, Sangeet Natak Akademi Bulletin, December 1956, p. 19.
32. Here he discusses the *Uttaratantram* of Kohala.
Bhoja's *Sṛṅgāra Prakāśa*, pp. 545-546.
33. Referred to by both Abhinavagupta and Śāradātanaya and can perhaps be identified with Nandikesvara the author of the *Abhinayadarpana*.

34. Tumburu and Viśakhila mentioned only by Abhinavagupta (Abhinavagupta's commentary on *Nāṭyaśāstra*, G. O. S. I., Vol. I, p. 165.
35. Referred to by Sāgaranandin in *Nāṭakalakṣaṇa*, 363-3.
36. Mentioned by Śāradātanaya in *Bhāvaṇaprakāśa*, p. 152.
37. *ibid.*, p. 47, 41; *ibid.*, p. 239, 42; *ibid.*, p. 251.
38. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Vol. II, pp. 245-246. Also *Nāṭakalakṣaṇa*, 1484-1485.
39. *ibid.*, Vol. I (G.O.S.I), p. 115 (commentary).
40. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 452. Also see Ramakrishna Kavi's interpretation: he thinks this is the same as Udbhaṭa.
41. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 436.
42. *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 172.
43. See the *Mirror of Gesture* edited by Coomaraswamy and Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya, and the *Abhinayadarpana* translated and edited by Ghosh, M. M.
44. *Journal of the Music Academy*: Vol. XXIV, 1953, Parts I-IV, where an edited text by Maheswar Neog has been published.
45. See *Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Journal*: Vol. IV, 1945, No. 3, pp. 4-8; Vol. V, 1946, No. 1 and Vol. VI, 1948, No. 2.
46. *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* edited with translation by Vasudeva Sastri K. and published by S. Gopalan, 1953.
47. The following works are mentioned in the commentaries of the *Śilappadikaram* :
 (i) *Ishainudukkum*.
 (ii) *Yamendrava*.
 (iii) *Panca Marabū* by Ari Varanava and many more.
48. Raghavan, V.: *Later Sangita Literature*, Sangeet Natak Akademi Bulletin, December 1956, p. 25.
49. Published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.
50. This is an important text which is followed consistently by the *Kathakali* dancer.
51. *Saṅgītaratnākara*, Ch. VII, 377-429: the *Nāṭyaśāstra* speaks only of 33 *dr̥ṣṭis* but they are in fact 36.
52. *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*, p. 482-524.
53. *Bālarāmabharata* p. 118-120 and 131-135: it also lists some more varieties and a few combinations, but they are essentially the same as those described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*
54. *Mirror of Gesture*, p. 40.
55. *ibid.*, p. 41.
56. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. VIII, 41 ff. and 63.
ibid., Ch. VIII, 55.
57. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. VIII, 129 ff., specially 136-138, 144-146, 150-153, 156-159 and 162-164. These movements etc. are not described by Bharata with reference to the different *rasas* and the terms used correspond more to the *vyabhicārī bhāvas* or general expression of moods like anger (*krodha*), envy (*dveṣa*), etc., but, ultimately, each *sthāyībhāva* or *rasa* has its corresponding movement of the face. These are of course not cut and dried formulae. They have to be used with imagination in particular contexts and are, therefore, sometimes inter-changeable. The charts have been made on the basis of Ch VIII, as also Ch VII; 8 ff., where the representation of the dominant states (*sthāyī bhāva*) has been discussed.
58. *Mirror of Gesture*, pp. 41-42.
59. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. VIII, 98-101.
Saṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 441 ff
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, p. 542 ff.
 The last two follow the *Nāṭyaśāstra* faithfully
60. *Bālarāmabharata*, p. 140 ff.
61. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. VIII, 105-110.
Abhinayadarpana, 77-68.
62. *Mirror of Gesture*, p. 40. It also lists 44 other glances from another source.
63. *Saṅgītaratnākara*, Ch. VII, 456-460.
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, p. 458-554.
 Also see *Viṣṇudharmottara Purana*, III, 25-50.
64. *Bālarāmabharata*, pp. 137-139.
65. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. VIII, 118-123.
66. *Mirror of Gesture*, p. 43.
67. *Saṅgītaratnākara*, Ch. VII, 433-438.
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, pp. 525-532.
68. *Bālarāmabharata*, p. 154 ff.
69. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. VIII, 110-114.
70. *Saṅgītaratnākara*, Ch. VII, 440-445.
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, pp. 534-540.

71. *Bālarāmabharata*, pp. 142-143.
72. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. VIII, 130-132.
Saṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 467-470.
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, pp. 561-565.
Bālarāmabharata, p. 160 ff.
 The *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* follow the *Nāṭyaśāstra* closely; the *Bālarāmabharata* differs slightly
73. For movement of cheeks, lips, etc., see *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. VIII, 136-161.
Saṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 488 ff.
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, pp. 565 ff.
Bālarāmabharata, 165 ff.
74. *Saṅgītaratnākara* mentions one more movement of the cheek
75. *Bālarāmabharata*, pp. 34 ff.
76. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. VIII, 18-37.
Saṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 43-72
Abhinayadarpana, 49-62.
77. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. VIII, 18-37.
Abhinayadarpana, 49-50.
Mirror of Gesture, pp. 36-38.
Saṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 49 ff
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, pp. 45-60.
Bālarāmabharata, pp. 32-38.
78. All the nine movements of the *Abhinayadarpana* are mentioned and then 24 other movements are also enumerated. Those common to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Abhinayadarpana* have been listed in col. III as repetition. See also *Saṅgītaratnākara*, 74-78.
79. The last six movements are enumerated separately, on the authority of another writer, in both the *Saṅgītaratnākara* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*
80. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. VII, 171-175.
81. *Abhinayadarpana*, 79-87.
82. *Mirror of Gesture*, p. 44.
83. *Saṅgītaratnākara*, Ch. VII, 329-334.
84. *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*, pp. 420-427.
85. *Bālarāmabharata*, pp. 199-202.
86. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. VIII, 153-160.
87. *Saṅgītaratnākara*, Ch. VII, 513-516
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, pp. 611-616.
- 87a. For a detailed analysis of the movements of the *grīvā* (neck), see Appendix
88. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. IX, 223 ff.
89. *Saṅgītaratnākara*, Ch. VII, 296 ff.
90. *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, III, 24, 24 ff
91. *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*, p. 386 ff
92. *Bālarāmabharata*, p. 91 ff.
93. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. IX, 233-250
94. *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, III, 24-30 ff
95. *Saṅgītaratnākara*, Ch. VII, 303 ff.
96. *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*, p. 392 ff
97. *Bālarāmabharata*, p. 94 ff.
98. *ibid.*, p. 96, 5-21.
99. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. IX, 250b-256b
100. *Saṅgītaratnākara*, Ch. VII, 357-360.
101. *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, III, 24 and 43-44
102. *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*, pp. 451-455.
103. *Bālarāmabharata*, pp. 255-257.
104. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. IX, 257-258a and 262b-263a
105. *Saṅgītaratnākara*, Ch. VII, 365.
106. *ibid.*, Ch. VII, 362-368.
Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, III, 24-51 ff
 Also *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*, pp. 458-461.
107. *Saṅgītaratnākara*, Ch. VII, 372-376.
Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, III, 3, 24-56 ff.
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, p. 471 ff and v. 27.
108. *Bālarāmabharata*, Ch. p. 261.
109. *Saṅgītaratnākara*, Ch. VII, 362-368 and 372-376.
110. *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*, pp. 456-465 and 471-477.
111. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. IX, 265-278.

- Sāṅgītaratnākara*, VII, 316-325.
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, p. 402 ff
112. See *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. IX, 265b-266a
113. See *Abhinayadarpana*, 259-260 ff
114. See *Nāṭyaśāstra* (G.O.S.). Ch. X, 159-160 ff
115. See *Abhinayadarpana*, p. 30 ff, 231-243
Mirror of Gesture, p. 64 ff.
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, p. 278, 339-350
116. *Abhinayadarpana*, p. 26, 204-215 ff
Mirror of Gesture, p. 65.
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, pp. 252-264 the *isāna hasta* mentioned only by the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*.
117. *Abhinayadarpana*, pp. 28, 216-225
Mirror of Gesture, p. 66
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, pp. 264-273.
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha hands for *Naiṣṭhahatāra* and *Kalki* differ from those prescribed by the *Abhinayadarpana*.
118. *Abhinayadarpana*, p. 33, 250-258
Mirror of Gesture, p. 65.
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, pp. 320-329: but names of the planets in the *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha* differ in some cases from those in the *Abhinayadarpana* and the *Mirror of Gesture*
119. *Abhinayadarpana*, p. 30, 226-230.
Mirror of Gesture, p. 66.
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, pp. 274-276.
120. *Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha*, pp. 288-311.
121. *ibid.*, pp. 312-321. twelve *rāśi hastas* have been enumerated
122. *ibid.*, pp. 331-335.
123. *ibid.*, pp. 337-367.
123. See *Nāṭyaśāstra* (G.O.S.) Vol. II, p. 70, 182-183 and commentary where Abhinavagupta quotes Bhaṭṭa Udbhata and also gives examples of the different areas of movement of the different hand gestures.
124. See *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. IV, 215: the inward and the outward (*abhyāntara* and *bāhirmukha*) movements of the fingers have been emphasized here; we have tried to relate them to the movements of the palm, fingers and wrist.
124. *ibid.*, IX, 215
125. *Sāṅgītaratnākara*, p. 182 ff., Ch VII, 532-536 Also see the commentary of Sudhākara and Kallinātha on each of these movements of the hands and palms Also see *Sāṅgītaratnākara*, 543-545, where other actions of the hands are listed
126. *Nāṭyaśāstra* (G.O.S.), Vol II, Ch IX, 220-222, and Abhinavagupta's commentary on p. 81
127. *Sāṅgītaratnākara*, Ch VII, 335-347
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, pp. 430-442
Bālarāmabharata has made a different classification of the arm movements in terms of directions, which has little in common with the one in the earlier text See pp 202-220 and 229-231.
128. *Sāṅgītaratnākara*, Ch VII, 369-372
129. *ibid.*, Ch. VII, 369-371.
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, pp 466-470
Bālarāmabharata gives a different classification in terms of *sthira* and *asthira* wrist movements, which total up to 25: all these movements are of course combinations of the five basic movements of the *Sāṅgītaratnākara*
130. *Sāṅgītaratnākara*, Ch. VII, 326-329
Nāṭyaśāstra Saṅgraha, p 416
131. *Abhinayadarpana*, 259-289
132. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. X, 89-95.
133. *Sāṅgītaratnākara*, Ch VII, 1073-1094
134. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. XII, 228-235
Sāṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 1106-1110
135. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. XII, 228-235.
Sāṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 1106-1110
136. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. X, 51 ff.
Sāṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII 1019 ff. and 1034-1054
137. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. XII, 159-178.
Sāṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VII, 1056-1068 (Advar edition)
138. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. X, 14-28.
Sāṅgītaratnākara, Ch. VI, 917-941.

139. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. X, 14-50.
Also see *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. XI, 3-5 etc., for *maṇḍala* and Ch. IV for *karana* *Saṅgītaratnākara*, Ch. VII, 942-965.
140. *Nāṭyaśāstra* (G.O.S.II) Preface, p. 39.
141. *ibid* , p. 38
142. *ibid.*, pp. 40-49.
143. *TL* stands for *Tāṇḍavalakṣaṇam* and *NS II* for the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Gaekwad Oriental Series, second edition): figures of *karana* 51 are identical in both. Thus their agreement has not been specifically mentioned in some cases: the numbers relate to the numbers of the *karanas*.
144. *Karanas* 9 and 10 are not illustrated in the first edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the Gaekwad Oriental Series.
145. *Nāṭyaśāstra* (G.O.S.I) also identifies *karana* 80 as *karana* 99 called *madaskhalita*.
146. *Karanas* 8 and 37 mentioned earlier, i.e., *maṇḍala svastika* and *varśāka recita* are also derived from *sthānas*.
147. See *Nāṭyaśāstra* (G.O.S.II), p. 42, where it is pointed out that the temple places this figure in the 89th compartment.

III

LITERATURE AND DANCING

IT is significant that Bharata should have visualized Indian drama as emerging from the four *Vedas*. According to him, drama originated from Brahmā, the Creator, at the request of Indra and other deities who wanted from Him (Brahmā) a fifth *Veda* in addition to the four *Vedas* already existent: the Creator then went into a deep yogic trance and meditated on the essence of the four *Vedas*—the result of this was the fifth *Veda*, which took words from the *Rgveda*, gestures from the *Yajus*, music and chanting from the *Sāma* and sentiments and emotions from the *Atharvaveda*. Unlike the other *Vedas*, this *Veda* was not taboo to the *Śūdras* and its main purpose was to provide pleasure and delight both to the ear and the eye irrespective of caste. Bharata in attributing to dance and drama this divine origin was stating in formalized language a conception which must have already taken hold of the people's mind.

We may not regard this theory of the origin of dancing as a historical fact, but we cannot deny that it could have been conceived only in a society where dance must have enjoyed prestige and honour. Through this theory Bharata attributes to dancing a divine origin, a literary and religious heritage both in thought and technique, and an aesthetic secular purpose. The story of the handing over of this art by Śiva to Taṇḍu and then to Bharata asserts the religious, literary, and secular aspect of this art.

We have only to look at the contemporary forms of classical Indian dancing to be convinced of the implications of this theory of the origin of dance and drama. Nowhere are we made so aware of the rich religious background, the vast literary heritage and yet the entirely aesthetic purpose of an art form, as we are in a classical dance performance, whether it is *Bharatanāṭyam* or *Kathākali* or *Maṇipurī*, *Odissi* or *Kathak*. The artist of this dance never seeks to express personal human emotions or subjective states of mind; he or she is constantly representing themes relating to gods and goddesses—Śiva and Pārvatī, Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and the *apsarās*—and the pangs and yearnings of these supernatural beings who pine more than the human beings. If the human or the subjective is represented at all, it is only the devotees' love for the One, the Almighty, not the separation of the mortal lover from the beloved. The themes of dance in whichever style invariably relate to the lives of divine beings, their battles and epic conflicts; never are they the sociological problems of the day. And yet all through this performance, so imbued with religious spirit and epic grandeur, there is no didactic purpose; instead, there is an aesthetic delight in art creation.

It is this apparent paradox of the artistic creation, this merging of the religious, the spiritual and the symbolic with the aesthetic and the secular, that gives Indian dancing its singular place among the Indian arts. It is also a feature which is common to other Indian arts. It manifests an integrated attitude to life which the philosophic works of our country state and preach and which the literary works at their best embody within themselves. It is the full-throated ease of living that is manifest here. This continues to be true today, even though the essential spirit of the traditional in Indian aesthetics has declined in most art forms.

SĀHITYA OF DANCING

But the integration is not achieved in isolation or through denial; it is instead the direct outcome of the same inspiration as moved the classical writers. Indeed, the classical Indian dance would be but a dead technique, with meaningless flourishes and elaborations, without the rich *sāhitya* that forms the basis of this dance. The *sāhitya* lends it gravity and dignity of purpose and, when it is presented by a truly inspired and dedicated dancer, it is imbued with a new and profound significance. As the dancer performs, a distinct religious, literary tradition comes alive: he or she portrays through movement what the writer has sought to express through words and poetry. The epic narrative method of a *Kathākali* performance, the lyrical manner of a *Bharatanāṭyam* recital, the soft renderings of Vidyāpati's *Padāvalī*, the *aṣṭapadīs* of Jayadeva's *Gīta Govinda* in *Maṇipurī* and *Oḍissī*, and the *gata-bhāvas* of a *Kathak* demonstration are results of this contribution of literature to classical Indian dancing. A good performance in any of these styles will convince us of this fact. The superficial quality of the classical dancer of modern India is due mostly to the lack of literary and cultural background: the difference between a good and a bad performance is that the spark of literature shines in one and the lack of it makes the other dead.

Just as the part played by literature (*sāhitya*) in dancing cannot be over-estimated, so also the part played by Indian dancing in Vedic and classical Sanskrit literature cannot be over-emphasized. Dance has not only provided these writers with a subject for pleasure, for beauty, and for poetic ornamentation in a nebulous way but has also influenced them in a way that they are sensitive to the minutest technical details and exhibit a knowledge of the art incomparable to any reference to it found in other literatures of the world. More important than this has been the impact of dance on the spiritual and religious thinkers of our country: through dance they have communicated abstract theories, and not a small part of our mythology, religion and spiritual thought is closely related to or symbolized in this art form.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DANCE AND LITERATURE

When we trace the history of Indian literature, we find references to dancing from the very earliest times. From the vague inspiration that the dancer provides to

the imaginative poet to the symbolism that dance provides to the mythology writer, there is an abundance of material on dancing in our religious, theological, sociological and literary works. Through them we can re-create a history of this art, when no written history exists, and in them we find descriptions of dancing as it must have been at varying periods of history. Beginning with non-specialized references in the earlier texts, we go on to discover specific references to technique; and from the common performer of a simple community, we go on to observe the classical artist, who exercised a profound influence on various levels of thought in a complex society.

Through these channels of literature, aesthetic or religious, we can trace the development of this art along three different directions. In pre-historic times dancing must have existed as an elemental spontaneous force in the life of man. However, from pre-historic times to the first evidence of an organized society, a great change occurred in the attitude of man to this art: as society grew, this art form became a vocation (*śilpa*). Thus if man danced for pleasure, he also danced for a living and made it a vocation as good as any other. This development in society gave dance a different impetus, and very early the secular dance both for professional and social purposes became an established fact. Actually, the earliest references to dancing found in the written Indian texts are the ones which indicate the secular position of this art. Here it is an amusement, an entertainment at its best, and an instrument of indiscipline, temptation and vice at its worst. This sociological aspect of dance acquaints us not only with the manners and styles of dance but also with the social prestige and honour enjoyed by dancers at various stages of history. The chronicles and literary historical works provide us with revealing evidence of this aspect of the art of dancing.

There is then the second direction of development, a direction which is at a higher level of culture and civilization than the desire of man to express his sense of fun through dancing. Here dancing is the most important feature in the ritualistic practices of our faith. The germs of this aspect, too, we find in our literature. Not only has man known that the mortal form can express joy and sorrow through movement, but he has also realized that this movement must have discrimination and selection and, just as he must organize society to transcend the selfishness of the personal man on the horizontal plane, he must formalize movement to transcend himself along the vertical plane and devote himself to a being higher than himself, a power which he evokes and to whom he dedicates himself body and soul. And what could be a more beautiful manner of dedication than dance? This direction of growth is most important for our purpose as it is this instinct for sublimation, for transcendence, that gives true fibre and character to classical dance. As early as the *R̥gveda* and more visibly by the time of the *Yajurveda*, man is over-wrought by the significance of physical gestures and, as the literature of our country develops, greater and more significant references to this art of ges-

tures are found. It need hardly be added here that these are more than speculations, for they are occurrences in the life of a people, and the literary and religious works of our country are records of these occurrences in history from the earliest times. That there were temple dancers and that dancing was and is an essential feature of the Hindu temple is not a casual happening. It results directly from a continuous process of thought and living: this ritualistic dancing, both in its religious and classical richness, ascends and descends, grows and declines, with the other sociological processes of history.

There is then the highly sophisticated and abstract aspect of dancing which manifests itself in these works. From the devotee who dances before the god, the Indian mind goes on to the concept of the gods themselves dancing. From Indra, who has been called the leader of dancers in the *R̥gveda*, the thinkers go on to explain natural phenomena in terms of dancing, problems of the world through the symbolism of dancing and the particular pose, answer questions of *Ātman* and the *Jīvātman* in terms of dancing, as in the *Śrīmad Bhāgavata*. The roots of these concepts are contemporaneous with the earlier two aspects and it is not to be believed that the concept of the dancing aspect of gods was a later development. All the same, the full maturity of this aspect finds its culmination in the concept of the trinity where both Śiva and Viṣṇu assume various dancing forms. The idea of dance as a symbol so captured the Indian mind that, in its most exquisite statement of the truth of the world, it saw Lord Naṭarāja dancing the cosmic dance. This is an all-powerful symbol and more the thought one gives to it, the greater is the stature it assumes; this is no mean achievement of the Hindu mind. It is an incomparable tribute to the art of dancing. This motif of the cosmic dance representing the five activities of the Lord has given the Indian mind a vision, an image, a symbol, which has evoked response from every heart and devotion from every soul.

We can trace through our literary and religious texts the development of these trends in Indian dancing. For purposes of analysis, we may divide these references into categories even though each one of these categories merges into the other and cannot easily be distinguished. It is not our main purpose here to trace the sociological aspect of dance as found in these texts, nor is it to go into the symbolic significance of the conceptions of the dances of the gods. These tasks, valuable in themselves, are strictly the realm of the social historian and the philosopher. We are concerned here with the technical growth of this art form as a fully stylized technique and the references to this technique in the literary works of ancient and medieval Sanskrit literatures. To us, therefore, the purely literary works are of greater importance than the vast number of religious and sociological texts. The 'creative literature' gives dance its themes, and, conversely, dance finds an important place in the imagination of the poet and the dramatist. Wherever technical references to dancing occur in 'non-literary and non-creative' works, i.e., other than

kāvya and drama, we shall attempt to treat a few, but the major works of our analysis will be literary works of art. The sources of this analysis will thus be (a) the Vedic and post-Vedic literature, the *Rgveda*, a few *Upaniṣads* and the *Sūtras*, (b) Epic poetry and the *Purāṇas*, (c) *kāvya*, lyrical and narrative poetry, and (d) the *nāṭya* or the drama proper.

From these sources the different types of relationship between literature and dancing can be established. The categories made for this purpose are:

- (i) Divine and human beings in the literary texts from the earliest times are found dancing at some stage or the other. There are characters in Hindu mythology who have been given the attributes of a dancer; there are others who are conceived mainly as dancers. These characters include the personifications we find in literature, personifications which assume the character of terrestrial or celestial gods. There are then human beings who are the heroes and heroines of these works, who dance and who are seen as professional dancers in society.
- (ii) Closely related to this faculty of mind which sees the phenomenal world personified in terms of human beings is the other habit of mind which seeks to compare things in nature and the world in terms of the 'dancing image'. Here we find that the poet is fascinated by the form of the dancer, her technical accomplishments, her bells, her rhythm, the poses she attains; and compares non-human movement in terms of the movement of the dance. Sanskrit literature utilizes dance in its rich fund of metaphor and simile. These two principles, of personification on the one hand and of comparison in single or sustained similes and metaphors on the other, are complementary in nature.
- (iii) There are then specific dance recitals and performances described in these works. In the *kāvya* and dramatic literature of Sanskrit, this is a frequent theme; either a full dance performance is described or a portion of this recital is referred to. These references give us some idea of the essential features of the types of dancing, both social and classical, that must have been prevalent. Through these references we can determine the place of dancing in the society at large and can have an idea of the aesthetic principles underlying these dances. Our major sources for this type of reference are the later *kāvyas* and the literary drama.
- (iv) But the most important relationship between literature and dancing is an aspect of Sanskrit dramatic literature, which is the direct result of dancing and which can completely be identified with it. The beginnings of this we find in the first references to gesticulations in the Vedic texts, but it assumes a shape so large in the literary drama of the classical period that

the true beauty of this drama cannot be comprehended until we take into consideration the fact that the *nāṭya* of Sanskrit literature was not only the dialogue on stage but an integrated representation of the four types of *abhinaya*, namely, *āṅgika*, *vācika*, *sāttvika* and *āhārika*. This particular aspect of the literary drama of Sanskrit distinguishes it from the drama of other countries as the stage directions here are not only helpful hints to acting but also constitute an important and indispensable part of the drama. This evidence of *āṅgikābhinaya* in literary drama is witnessed in the *abhinaya* portions of contemporary classical dance in India: indeed, it is the only survival of ancient Indian drama. Here the two arts become one and inseparable and, if drama becomes more pantomimic in character, dance becomes more literary.

From the different types of relationship that exist between the two arts of literature and drama, the directions of growth and development of these arts are self-evident. In the direction of thought-development, the earliest dancing gods and goddesses of our mythology grow to assume the religious significance embodied in the symbolic concept of the dances of Śiva or Viṣṇu, the full-fledged gods of our trinity: in the direction of secular and social development, the spontaneous dancing becomes the social and folk dancing of our country where every festival and important event of life is expressed through collective community dancing and where the dancer is an important limb of a good and happy society: and in the direction of technique development, the religious ritual assumes symbolic, codified and imitative significance to become an elaborate technique of gesticulation and *abhinaya*. The earlier dialogues also develop to assume the form of the literary drama proper. Thus the wheel has come full circle here, and the growth of Indian literature and dancing is a simultaneous development of content, thought and technique, and of subject-matter and form. Matter and style, the idea and the manifestation of it in form, go on merging into one another and the one cannot be separated from the other. We shall see the undertones and overtones of the development of this thought and technique in the course of our detailed analysis of these works; suffice it to say here that the art of dancing emerges from all these references and evidences as an all-powerful influence in the cultural history of our country, and at the very moment of its being a source of amusement and pleasure, used either for healthy purposes or exploited for base instincts in man, it is a source of spiritual uplift, moral elevation and intellectual *sādhana* of the highest type. When it deteriorates, it is the art of the sorcerer, the sole instrument of temptation; when it ascends and develops, it is the voice and movement of God. These tendencies take time to be formulated but, by the time Bharata writes his treatise on dramaturgy, these concepts take a definite shape. It is this process of the growth of matter, manner and purpose of dancing that he has in mind when he attributes to dancing a divine origin, a religious and literary background, and an aesthetic and secular purpose.

In the pre-Bharata period, these trends are visible but they have not found an individuality and distinctive personality. The categories of our analysis are thus applicable to the pre-Bharata literature, as his terminology is applicable to the sculpture depicting dancing, but it is really the post-Bharata literature that gives us a picture of these easily discernible qualities. We shall thus treat these categories together in the pre-Bharata period and shall trace them separately in the post-Bharata period.

Rgveda

We find the beginnings of all these aspects in the earliest record of our literature. *Rgveda* stands supreme before our eyes as a work of religion, philosophy, mythology and poetry. In this work, we discover an insight into natural phenomena, into the life around man which has scarcely been surpassed. The delight and ease with which poetry blooms forth from these hymns is indicative of the incomparable perception of the beautiful of these poets: the mental life of the poet manifests itself through a child-like simplicity full of freshness and delicacy of feeling on the one hand, and a highly complex and intricate process of thought reflected in metaphor and mythology on the other.

The gods that arise before our eyes in these pages are personifications no doubt of natural phenomena on the celestial and terrestrial planes; but they are lovable beings, too, heroic and supernatural in character, who can inspire the mortal but who have not yet acquired divine shapes and forms distant enough to be prayed to and feared. The gods and goddesses of this pantheon are numerous: they are fighters, singers, life-givers, and are vigorous and impetuous. They ride on cars across the skies and are glorified human beings, inspired with human motives and passions, born like men but immortal. These representatives of the phenomena and agencies of nature are seen dancing and singing like their earthly counterparts who dance and sing both at weddings and funerary ceremonies in the hymns of the *Rgveda*.

Indra is the greatest of them all: he has been conceived primarily as a thunder-god and a god of battle who assumes most beautiful forms at will (X. 112. iii), is armed with bows and arrows (VIII. 45. iv), is borne on a car which is golden (VI. 29. ii), and is swifter than thought (X. 112. ii). To this Indra are applied the epithets of the car-fighter (*ratheṣṭhā*), the *soma*-drinker (*somapāvan*) (VIII. 2. iv), and the leader of dancers—the dancer Indra—and one who makes others dance. More than a dozen hymns utilize these epithets of dancing for him. In I. 130, the entire hymn refers to him as a dancer in battle who has destroyed ninety cities: here the vocative of *nṛtu* is used and thus we have the word *nṛto*. He is the dancer who has destroyed ninety cities and has destroyed them with his thunder-bolt (*vajra*) (I. 130. vii)¹. In another hymn, he is evoked as he who makes others dance and delight (II. 22. iv), whose first act is for the good of man and who is victor of

the rain². In VIII. 24. ix and xii, these epithets are used for him again³. Here he is addressed as he who causes to dance. In VIII. 92. iii, the word *nṛtuḥ* (equal to *nartayitā*) is used. A similar epithet for Indra as the dancer is used in II. 22. iv: he is dancer, the giver of plenteous food and is prayed to for bringing riches.

The close associates of Indra, the Maruts and the Aśvins, are also dancers. Marut is often called by the name dancer (*nṛtu*). In a most beautiful hymn translated by Max Mueller the Maruts dance around the well, desirous of water: "In the measured steps and wildly shouting, the gleemen have danced towards the well. They who appeared one by one like thieves were helpers to me to see the light". They are really the gay dancers, the *kīriṇo nṛtuḥ* (V. 52. 12)⁴, who are the invokers and the leaders of the dance. The verse is the first specific description of dancing in literature where more than an epithet has been used. In another hymn, too, the Maruts are invoked as dancers and the form *nṛtavaḥ* is employed for them: in this they are called out for care and friendship, "Oh ye dancers with golden ornaments on your chest, even a mortal comes to ask for your brotherhood: take care of us ye Maruts, for your friendship lasts for ever" (VIII. 20. xxii).⁵ The Maruts are here addressed in the plural as a troupe or a company of dancers.

The Aśvins are the twin gods to whom singing and dancing are attributed. They, too, are called out as dancers (*nṛtu*): they are addressed in the plural—who dance in association with the daughter of the Sun, Surya⁶. They are addressed as the twin Aśvins and the hosts of Maruts.

Indra, the Maruts and the Aśvins are given these epithets after they have been visualized in their human form, and dancing is one of their accomplishments. In these epithets, we have the first germs of the concept which was to develop later into Naṭarāja, the dancing Śiva.

In the *Ṛgveda*, closely related to the concept of the dancing Indra, the Maruts and the Aśvins, is the concept of the *apsarās*. They are the consorts of the *gandharvas* and smile at their lovers in the highest heavens (X. 123. v). Vasiṣṭha is born of the *apsarās* (VII. 33. xii) and lives close to them (VII. 33. ix). The *apsarās* of the sea are described as flowing to *soma* (IX. 78. iii): the long-haired ascetic with semi-divine powers is spoken of as being able to move on the path of the *apsarās* and the *gandharvas* (X. 136. vi) and, finally, there is a reference to the story of Urvaśi and Pururavā in a beautiful hymn (X. 95. viii. ff.). Besides these, there are very few references to the *apsarās* and we learn little else about their character from the *Ṛgveda*. Nonetheless, we are introduced to a concept which later became a popular feature of our mythology. The *apsarās* do not belong to the category of gods and are listed amongst the lower deities; when Indra assumes the character of a king with a court, they become his favourite dancers and musicians. In the *Atharvaveda* these forms play a prominent part and become the divine

courtesans of the celestial gods: the arts of music and dancing become their indispensable accomplishments and soon they come to stand for both the joy and the pleasure of heaven, as also for the supernatural instruments of fate. They entice, tempt and test the human sage from time to time: their sphere of action enlarges, and they move freely from earth to heaven. They alone, of the deified beings, are in love with the mortals and are punished occasionally by their lord King Indra.

Behind the concept of the *apsarā* must have existed the reality of the beautiful courtesan of the *Ṛg*-Vedic and *Atharva*-Vedic periods. The general references to the dancing *apsarās* and the particular one to Urvaśī in the *Ṛgveda* are a clear indication of the existence of the professional dancer during the period.

From the characters and themes related to dancing in the earliest text, we move on to another important reference to dancing in the *Ṛgveda*. Now it is not the dramatic character who dances; instead, it is the poet who sees natural phenomenon in terms of a dancer. The well-known reference to Uṣas as a dancer is not merely an adjective for the rising dawn; it is one of the first examples in poetry where dancing is used by the poet in a beautiful sustained image. Through all the twenty hymns celebrating Uṣas, the goddess is but slightly personified. She is ever ancient, and ever young, the elder sister of night. She is the *cira purāṇī* (*purāṇī* and *yuvatī*), the maiden who awakes in the world again and again (I. 123, ii), who also awakens creatures that have feet, and who makes the birds fly up (I. 48. v). She awakes everything into motion (I. 92. ix). She is the life and breath of everything (I. 49. iii). This dawn was the most beautiful of all phenomena to the early gazer of the skies: in this first dawn he asked his first questions, and in her he saw an image of the world anew, and while everything else changed, she remained constant, never stooping, never withering, but emerging fresh and glorious every morning. Through this riddle of all riddles man composed his most exquisite poetry.

It is this goddess of dawn Uṣas that the *Ṛg*-Vedic poet loads with adjectives and epithets, one more beautiful than the other—and it is this Uṣas whom he compares to a dancer. She is like a dancer (*nṛtūriṇī*) who “adorns herself with rich ornament like a maiden whom her mother has decked out, the valiant one with a gracious smile who displays her charms to the adorer and brings forth treasures breaking forth the gates of darkness.” (I. 92. iv). The poetry in the hymn is exquisite and we are silent in admiration and wonder at the conception: through it, too, we find the poet’s knowledge of the dancer and her charms. Dancing as an accomplished art must have existed for the poet to paint such a picture. The profession of dancing as a recognized vocation of girls, too, must have existed before the poet could speak of Uṣas as displaying her charms by unveiling herself. The professional dancer, with all her boldness and forthright frankness, is seen here: the descriptions of her dress throw light on the modes of costuming. No further

conclusion with regard to the art of dancing can be drawn from this image in the *Rgveda*, but the sensitivity of the poet to dance is evident enough.

We find other examples of similes in these hymns. There is one in which the birth of Aditi is related; here the joy of the gods is described. "Thence as of dancers from your feet, a thickening cloud of dust arose."⁸ (X. 72. vii). From this reference it may be concluded that dancing took place in the open and was perhaps performed collectively in circles.

From these images we may also conclude that both the solo and the collective forms of dancing were in vogue.

We come next to the direct description of dancing in the life of the ordinary people. Secular poetry in the *Rgveda* gives us a fairly clear picture of the part played by dancing in society. Occasion for it was provided by marriages, funerals, harvest festivals, sacrifices and communal gatherings, when the inner music of the soul of the crowd following any happy occurrence demanded expression in the happy rhythmic movements of the limbs; men and women of the community participated in this carnival of mirth. Funeral Hymn X. 18 asks the survivors and relatives of the deceased, after he had been laid to rest, to go forth to sing, dance and laugh and prolong their own span of existence:

"The living from the dead are separated
The sacred rite today has prepared for us
And we are here prepared for mirth and dancing
Prolonging still the span of our existence."⁹

(X. 18. iii)

Laughter (*hasāya*) and dance (*nṛtaye*)¹⁰ are associated with each other at a moment of sorrow, and such is the continuity of Hindu culture that we find even today, when an aged man dies without leaving a widow or the old lady predeceases her husband, the funeral march is accompanied by music and dancing. Among the Aiyars of the South, only the women take part in it and the dancers circle around a lamp blazing its many tongues of light. Dances have formed an important feature of the funeral rites of the Hindus since *Rg-Vedic* times.

In X. 94. iv, we have a bold description of yet another type of community dance, where it is said, "with the sisters they have danced embraced by them making the earth re-echo with the sounding tread". Griffiths translates it as, "They cry aloud with strong exhilarating drink, calling on Indra now, for they have found the *madhu*. Bold with their sisters they have danced embraced by them" (X. 94. iv).

The hymn brings before us a vivid picture of a dance in all its vigour and

vivacity: the atmosphere resounds with the cries of the dancers. The humming sound of this dance and song is called *nyūṅkha*: this sound was perhaps like the *omkāras* cadence of the Nāgā dancing. According to Kātyāyana (I. 8. 18), it consisted of sixteen such *omkāras*.

The description is significant for more reasons than one: the three or four verses read together bring to us a description of a type of couple dancing, which we do not often come across in Sanskrit literature: they hold their sisters, and each couple dances in this vast group of hundreds and thousands. The couple formations of this collective social dance also call for embracing each other, and the movement of their dance is so fast that the earth resounds with humming sound.

The next verse indicates a gliding movement (X. 94. v) of the dance, and the swiftness of the dance is suggested by either interpretation of the verse¹¹.

The direct descendants of group dancing, where couple formations predominate, are the *rāsa* dances of India, which extend from Vṛndāvana in the North to Tamilnād in the South; from Maṇipur in the East to the coasts of Gujarāt and Mālābār in the South-West.

Here is a picture of a happy society where once work is finished people sit together over a drink. Their wives and maidens attired in gay robes set forth to the joyful fetes: boys and girls hasten to the meadow, when forest and field are clothed in fresh verdure, to take part in dancing. Cymbals sound, and, seizing each other by the arm, men and women whirl around until the ground vibrates and clouds of dust envelope the gaily moving throng. The meeting place for all this collective festivity is the *samana*. This word is used in many senses, including that of an assembly for festivity: women go to it to enjoy themselves (X. 55. v); young women also go there to seek their husbands, and courtesans go to make profit by the occasion¹². Whatever the nature of these dances, and however popular and folk in character these assemblies might have been, it is evident, through references to meeting places such as these, that the dancer and the courtesan were an essential part of this festivity.

In the *Ṛg*-Vedic hymns, the beginnings of dramatic literature are also seen. The existence of the professional dancer (*nṛtu*) in the Vedic society is established by the foregoing references: he is the precursor of the classical actor, dancer and singer. The dialogues between Indra and Marut (I. 7 or I. 165), between Yama and Yamī (X. 10) and between Purūravā and Urvaśī (X. 95) in the *Ṛgveda* are the predecessors of the drama proper.

As one surveys the *Ṛg*-Vedic hymns, one finds that there is indeed material here for different types of development. On the secular plane we find social dancing

and rejoining; on the religious and symbolic plane we find that dancing has been attributed to the gods. The beginnings of the professional dancer are seen here, the professional dancer who was to give India a rich theatrical tradition. We also see here the nucleus of the written literary drama. The only aspect we have not spoken of is the ritualistic or the art of gesticulation found in the *Rgveda*. There is little reference to stylized gesticulation in this text, but in this sphere there is ample proof of the poet's consciousness of human movement. Raising of hands, moving of feet and descriptions of physical movement are frequent throughout the *Rgveda*: but nowhere are these descriptions of physical movement indicative of mental states, nor are they used in any codified sense, either symbolic or dramatic. Thus their significance is slight but even in these we find the germs of the later full-fledged and stylized, *āṅgikābhinaya*, which the written drama of Sanskrit was to employ so perfectly and so powerfully.

The other three *Vedas* and their *Samhitās* also constantly refer to this art. Dance continues to be mentioned in the following contexts: (1) mythical and legendary gods who continue to feature in these works; occasionally the art of dance is attributed to them; (2) images concerning dancing are frequent; (3) there is then an evidence of the place of a dancer in society; the actor and the dancer are mentioned here in important sacrifices; and (4) finally, there is in these *Vedas* the most significant of all evidence, namely that of the ritualistic practices: in these practices we find the beginnings of the gesture language of the Indian dancing. Without doubt the symbolic physical gestures must have fascinated the sensitive artist, who must have absorbed them as a part of his technique.

Sāmaveda

In the *Sāmaveda*, references to dancing, other than those already mentioned in the *Rgveda*, are few, but this *Veda* contributes greatly to this art by stating the concept of the *Mārgī* and *Deśī* types of music and dancing. This is the first conscious distinction between what was to be termed classical and popular in years to come.

Yajurveda

The *Yajurveda* stands as an important treatise in the history of Indian thought. The basic conceptions of the *Rgveda* continue to manifest themselves here, but the deities of this age can more easily be distinguished and have thus found a more definite place in the Hindu pantheon than in the *Rgveda*. The ritual practices of this *Veda* are a living testimony to man's desire to annihilate himself in offering to the higher powers. Man here offers himself body and soul to the god: through the body he offers his soul, and through the consecration of the human form he is able to attain the Universal Self. Were it not for the reverence and sanctity of the human body, the gestures and the symbols would be but hollow elaborate acting without

meaning and significance. It is not, therefore, surprising that the artist absorbed into his being all these forms and practices for purely artistic purposes.

Of the deities we find that Indra, Rudra, Urvaśī and the other *apsarās* are repeatedly mentioned in the *Yajurveda*, but hardly anywhere is dancing attributed to them. In the White *Yajurveda* (*Vājasaneyī Samhitā*), Indra is the *Yita*-slayer, the king of gods, the deliverer (*sūtramāna*) (X. 31) and the all-powerful; he is no longer one who causes to dance or the leader of the dancers or a dancer himself. His companions, the *Aśvins* the twin light gods, the heralds of dawn, do dance and represent the sustaining and vivifying power of the dawn: they are full of the pleasantness of dance in the *Aśvina Graha*; they are here honey-lovers, their whip is like distilling honey; and the whip is compared to an expert female dancer, *sūnṛtāvatī* (VII. 11); and it is to them that the cup of libation is offered (*Aśvina Graha*). These *Aśvins* are the healers of Indra (XIX. 12), helpers in killing the son of the *asura* Namuci (X. 33). The storm gods, the Maruts, continue to be the singers of hymns (*gāyata maruta*) (XX. 30), and several offerings are made to them but seldom do they dance.

Among the lower deities, the *apsarās* are more frequently found in the White *Yajurveda* than in the *Rgveda*, but they do not dance and are not associated with dance as such. They are for the most part water nymphs. Urvaśī and Menakā are mentioned here (XV. 15-19), also Sahajanya, who represent portions of the sky, heaven or earth. They are the consorts of the *gandharvas* and are swift moving (XVIII. 39): they are also mentioned in the *Puruṣamedha Yajña* (XXX. 8)—but they do not dance. Dance seems to have been attributed to them much later.

Examined socially or on the secular plane, we can conclude that actors and dancers must have been accepted as members of society. In the *Puruṣamedha Yajña* we find two references to this: *śailūṣa* is included as one of the victims here (XXX. 6). Among the victims, the harlots, the amorous women, as also the *apsarās* and the *gandharvas*, are mentioned: “For dance a stable Master (*sūtam*) and for song an actor, performer (*naṭa*)”. Who this performer (*naṭa*) is and what his exact activities are we are not told, but it is evident that he plays an important part in all these sacrifices. A similar reference to dance and to the one who gives rhythm (*tāla*) is found in the verses relating to the *Puruṣamedha Yajña*. We have “A *tāla* man, a lutist these for the Dance” (XXX. 20). From this it is evident that the dancer must have been accompanied by the lutist on the one side and the drummer on the other: the basic accompaniment of dance, as observed in the sculptures of the earliest times, also consists of two accompanists. We see here that a distinction between a dancer and a public actor is made—for the two words *nṛtū* and *śailūṣa* are easily distinguishable.

We come next to the important feature in the *Vājasaneyī Samhitā* mentioned

earlier, namely, the gesticulation with the hands and the body, which forms an integral part of the ritual¹³. The awareness of the different parts of the body is impressive throughout these descriptions. There are many images in which the *aṅgas* of the human body are employed for purposes of similes and metaphors.

Ritual is invariably accompanied by gestures, and in it we find the seeds of *abhinaya* as it was to develop later. The ritual practices of the *Yajurveda* must have provided the actor and the dancer with unique material which was as profound as it was symbolic, as beautiful as it was stylized and technical. The *mantras* of these rituals were sung to special rhythm and tone and the features of the body denoted the meaning and significance of the verses. What closer relationship could we wish between the *abhinaya* in dance and drama than this? In all these sacrifices the punctiliousness with which hands and feet are placed in different directions, or fingers are used, are indicative of a sense of perfection and consciousness of an artist and a mathematician combined. In one of the earlier sacrifices, where *Agni* is the *hotar* (Book II), the sacrificer offers to the gods butter and says "Let me not with my foot offend thee, Viṣṇu" (II. 8) and, saying this, he must step to the southern side of the altar with the left foot in advance of the right, and return with the right foot before the left"¹⁴. This careful stepping could hardly have been un-beautiful if it was intended to be significant and awe-inspiring. In such verses we have the supreme examples of man's consciousness to utilize movement and gesture as a language and to use it symbolically for ritual. Similarly, the strides of Viṣṇu are represented symbolically by taking three Viṣṇu-strides: These strides and their symbolism is enriched further when the verse continues with the words "By the metre in the sky strode Viṣṇu By *triṣṭup* metre in the air strode Viṣṇu" (II. 25).

The mention of these metres here and elsewhere in the same strain is significant both for its absolute symbolic value and for the hint it must have given to the performer of these rites about the rhythm of movement.¹⁵

Again, the performer lifts his entire body to offer obeisance to the elements: the *Brāhmaṇa* sounds one of the seventeen drums before beginning the sacrifice (IX. 11). Subsequently, other drums are also sounded simultaneously and the *Vājapeya*, in course of performance, speaks the words and raises his arms to complete the invoking.¹⁶

"In us be your great might and many vigour

Obeisance to our Mother Earth! Obeisance to our Mother Earth!

This is my sovereignty: Thou art the ruler thou art controller, thou art firm and steadfast.

Thee for land culture, thee for peace and quiet,"

(IX. 22)

And as he says these words, “He looks towards the four quarters of the sky and their intermediate points and addresses the text to them. In obeisance (*namo mātṛe pṛthivyai*), he looks to the ground. Then he points to a seat of *udumbara* wood on which he spreads a goat-skin”¹⁷ As the ceremony was repeated time and again, a set of gestures must have evolved to signify the sky, the earth and the spheres: conversely, when these gestures were used, the words and concepts for which they stood must have been clear, and a finished language of gestures was thus born out of these rituals.

In the ceremony related to the *Aśvamedha Yajña* we come to a ritualistic practice very near to actual dancing itself. Here, when the horse has been brought back, the queen and the other consorts perform several ceremonies like entwining its mane, and, after a series of recitations, the three queens walk nine times around the horse, reciting verses: the chief queen then begins another ceremony for the birth of a son.¹⁸ (XXIII. 8 and XXII. 18). In this ceremony there is a development of ritual, for the queens perform symbolic rites individually as well as in unison. In the visual beauty of a well-performed ceremony in India even today we are aware of this gesticulation. A Vedic marriage ceremony even today tells us of the nature of the symbolic ritual.

In the *Śaṭrāmaṇi*, there is an exquisite example of this type of ritual: the whole performance is voluble with meaning and is significant even today: the physical plays an important part again. Indeed, it is this reverence for the physical form as an instrument of sacrifice, of worship, that gives Indian dancing its sanctified character, where the performer identifies herself or himself with universal truths through the medium of dance and desires total annihilation. The sacrificer touches the various parts of his body one after another and recites the following benedictory formula:

“My head be grace, my mouth be
My hair be brilliant sheen.
My breath be King and deathlessness, mine eye sole Lord, mine ear the Prince
My tongue be bliss, my voice be might, my mind be wrath, my rage self Lord!
Joys be my fingers and delight my members, conquering strength my friend!”¹⁹
(XX. 5-8)

And with these wishes and prayers he offers himself in obeisance. The underlying principles of this ritual are so true that age after age they have found new meaning and deep significance. If it has been said in the English language that ‘Face is the index of Man’, in the Vedic language one might say that ‘The human Body is the Man itself, for the soul and the body are not twain’; the body is not a snare to be shunned but one through which the eternal can be found.

Atharvaveda

By the time of the *Atharvaveda* we find that the attitudes have changed and much of the spontaneity and simplicity of the *Rgveda* has been lost. Fear and superstition have entered man's mind: instead of offering sacrifices as in the *Yajurveda*, he is concerned more with casting spells. Indra himself has become a king (III. 3); the Maruts and the Aśvins are gods meant only to be worshipped and are no longer playful and joyous.

The concept of the *apsarās*, however, has developed: they live in the waters (*samudra*) whence they come and whither they go, appear on earth and are lost again (II. 2. iii). The goddesses accompany the *gandharvas* and are present in the clouds, lightning and stars (II. 2. iv); they are the wives of *gandharvas* (*gandharva patnī*). They dwell with rivers (IV. 37. iii), with plants and trees in the waters (IV. 37. iv), with peacocks and the *arjuna* trees (IV. 37. v) and where the great drums resound (IV. 37. v); here these *apsarās* dance with the *gandharvas* (IV. 37. vii); the form *ānṛtyataḥ* is used here; locks of hair are indicated by the adjective *śikhandin*. Several references to *gandharvas* and *apsarās* throw interesting light on the modes of dress and coiffure attributed to them in different ages. For the first time we meet these celestial nymphs in their modified character in that they have started dancing. It is not till the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, however, that we find them actively engaged in dance, music, play and acting as instruments of seduction (II. 6. i).

Men and women also sing and dance even amidst the disease and pestilence they fear. They gather in assembly halls (VII. 12.ii), and the *sabhā* is the recognized place of meeting where social entertainments including music and dance abound. The long cosmogonic hymn (*Prthvīsūkta*) addressed to the earth, the finest in this *Veda*, is indicative of a joyous life on various planes, where mortals sing and dance:

“The earth, on whom, with clamour loud
Men that are mortal sing and dance
On whom they fight in battle fierce
This earth shall drive away from us our foemen.”²

(XII. 1. 41).

There is another beautiful metaphor in the *Atharvaveda* where the heart of the worshipper is the sea, where *Vaśā* imbibing the *Sāmaveda* dances with delight. (X. 10. 104).

Atharvaveda abounds in references to *gandharvas* and *apsarās* dancing, and from all these references in the Vedic literature, we can easily re-create a picture of the society where dancing and music is an integral part of man's day-to-day living, whether in joy or in sorrow, as a profession or as an important communal activity.

Brāhmaṇas

As time passed, the *Vedas* ceased to be clear; their language became incomprehensible and the tradition and the cult propounded by them was in danger of being lost. Accordingly, the expert in ritual created the *Brāhmaṇas* to explain to the officiator the relationship between the formulae he murmured or the hymns he sang and the various ritual acts and consecrated gestures he performed. These are mystifying texts full of an age of sacrificial liturgy. The *vinīyoga* or liturgical applications of the hymns with the utmost correctness is of supreme importance, and the form of the sacrifice becomes important for its own sake. The mysteries of these ritual *mantras* can perhaps be solved if the terms of gestures are clearly comprehended, but our object here is merely to indicate that the gesture language was in a process of change and growth, becoming more stylized and symbolic, however confined and monopolized it might have been at the hands of priests of the time.

On the general thematic plane, there is enough evidence in the *Brāhmaṇas* (in their narrative legendary *gāthā* section) to show that there was a flourishing tradition of music and dancing in those times.

Both the *Aitareya* and the *Kauṣītaki* of the *Ṛgveda* contain references to dancing: the *Sāmaveda Brāhmaṇas* are important for their *samans* and the various kinds of celestial and terrestrial beings referred to. In the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇas*, *śailūṣa naṭa* (actor) is again mentioned (III. 4. 21); other words like *sabhāpati* in the sense of the lord of the assembly occur in the *Taittirīya Samhitā* (IV. 53. 2). This may be contrasted with the word *sabhāvin* in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (III. 4. 16. 1), which, according to commentator Sāyana, means 'the keeper of the gambling hall': these halls still do not have dancing in them, but the social assemblies of the *saman* on the one hand and the general *sabhā* on the other were to give rise to the proper *nāṭyaśālās* of the *Mahābhārata*.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* contains the legend of Purūravā and Urvaśī, and like the echo of a melancholy song, it is the continuation of the tenderly told dialogue between Urvaśī and Purūravā in the *Ṛgveda* (X. 95). The story in the *Brāhmaṇa* differs from the *Ṛgveda* but has the same undertone of pathos in it. (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II. 5. 1). Several other *Brāhmaṇas* mention general aesthetic principles which are also pertinent to a study of the development of music and dancing.²¹

Upaniṣads

Upaniṣads also mention the two words *nṛtta* and *naṭa*: these works often utilize dance or music to elucidate discussions on abstract philosophic concepts. Sometimes, music and dance are instruments of temptation, and once or twice these arts are listed amongst the subjects of study.

In the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* we find Naciketā being tempted by Yama to accept “fair ones of heaven sitting in ornamental chariots, playing harps”. The players on the *tūrya*, and the like, are not to be gained by men.²² In the *Kena Upaniṣad*, the relationship of the body and the soul, and the interdependence of each, is explained in terms of the five sense organs.²³ Dancing as an art, however, is not directly referred to in these texts. All the same there is a significant reference to *gandharvaloka* as a stage in the development of the mind (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, III. 7. 1).

In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, we find that, among the arts listed, there is one called *devajñana vidyā* which includes the arts of music, dancing, mythology, and perfume-making (*Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VII. 1. 2)²⁴ and this list is repeated several times.²⁵ The inclusion of these arts as branches of learning indicates the classical nature of these arts: the social and the purely secular type of folk arts have not been included in the list.

The study of *Upaniṣads* is important for our purpose, not so much for the concrete references to the technique and practice of the arts of music and dancing as for the aesthetic implications of the philosophic principles stated in these works. In the texts of the Indian arts, there is very little discussion on the philosophy of art or aesthetics; they confine themselves mostly to discussions on technique. The *Upaniṣads* provide the essential background and the basic principles on which these theories are built and propounded.

From this point of view, the *Kaṭha*, the *Chāndogya* and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads* are important texts. It cannot perhaps be said that any aesthetic theory is explicitly set forth in these *Upaniṣads*, but the ideas and terminology of the aesthetic theory are easily recognizable here. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, for example in I. 4. 7, the word is said to be differentiated or known in plurality only by means of name and aspect, idea and image (*nāmarūpa*). Elsewhere, “voice (*vāka*) is apprehender (*graha*); it is seized by idea (*nāma*) as over-apprehender as indeed by voice (*vāk*) one utters thoughts (*nāmāni*)”; and, similarly, “sight (*cakṣu*) is an apprehender; it is seized by aspect (*rūpa*) as an over-apprehender as indeed by the eye (*cakṣu*) one sees things (*rūpāṇi*)” (III. 2. 3 and 5). Actual objects (*rūpāṇi*) seen in space are really seen not as such but as only coloured areas, the concept of space being altogether mental and conventional.²⁶

The ideas of *sādrśya* (visual correspondence), which do not imply naturalism in Indian art but which come nearer to the philosophic concept of *pramāṇa* (criterion of truth), are all ideas contained in the *Upaniṣads* and have direct bearing on the theories of aesthetics. Terms of aesthetics like *sahṛdaya* (having heart) equivalent to *rasika*, *pramātra*, etc., are very near the notion of the “space in the heart” and “the lotus of the heart in which Heaven and Earth are contained” mentioned in the *Upaniṣads*.²⁷

The significant elements of this theory (which conceives of the aesthetic experience as an ecstasy, in itself inscrutable, a delight of the reason; which believes that the work of art, which serves as the stimulus to the release of the spirit from all inhibitions of vision, can come into being only as a thing ordered to specific ends; which affirms that Heaven and Earth are united in the analogy of art; and which, finally, asserts that art tends towards an ultimate perfection in which the seer perceives all things imaged in himself) are found in the *Upaniṣads*. The fundamentals of this philosophic background give profundity to the elaborate technique of the Indian arts. As one surveys references to the technique and practice of these arts in the works of religion, law and literature, one must always bear in mind that the technique is significant only on account of its spiritual and metaphysical background and not on account of its minute and over-ornate classification.

Gṛhya Sūtras

In the *Gṛhya Sūtras* the arts of music and dancing are diligently cultivated, and, at every stage of domestic life, they play an important part. That dance and music formed an important part of a marriage ceremony is clear from the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* where, after the prospective bride is bathed and the high priest offers a sacrifice, a dance of four or eight women (not widows) takes place as part of *Indrāṇī Karma*; instrumental music is mentioned in *Sīmāntonnayana* ceremony (parting of the woman's hair in the middle during the fourth or seventh month of pregnancy), where the wife is asked to sing a song. The very interdiction that the *snātaka* is not to practise or enjoy a programme of dance or instrumental music goes to show the wide prevalence of these arts and their popularity. Life in this age is so thoroughly ritualized that in all these highly elaborate sacraments the gestures and their significance must have easily been understood and practised. From birth to death at every stage dance is associated with the important ceremonies.²⁸

But these *Sūtras* important in themselves are, strictly speaking, not in the realm of creative literature and thus beyond the scope of our study. However, the evidence we gather from these *Sūtras* is valuable in re-creating a social history of customs and manners of this period, many of which are preserved to this day; but little can be discerned here about the technique of classical dancing.

In *Pāṇini's* grammar there is a whole *sūtra* devoted to the rules for an actor; and the *naṭasūtra* (IV. 3. 110-111) is attributed to Śilālin.

Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* of a later date also falls in the category of works describing the social arts. Its sections on dance are indicative of the part played by this art in society.

Epics and *Purāṇas*

The actual history of classical Indian dancing begins with the epics and the

Purāṇas of the Sanskrit literature. By the time we come to these works, we find that dancing as an art has two definite aspects, the classical and the popular. It is also an art which is considered an essential accomplishment of a prince, a young girl and a true courtesan (*gaṇikā*). The authors of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are fully conversant with the technical details of this art. The *Purāṇas* contain valuable material on the art both in myth and reality the trinity is an accepted concept and the dances of Śiva and Viṣṇu are gradually but clearly formulated. Theories about dancing and technical terms in relation to it are found in abundance in the *Purāṇas*, some of them being post-Bharata.

Rāmāyaṇa

We find dancing mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* on several planes.

- (a) There are mythological characters who dance; the *apsarās* are specially attributed the art at various places: they take the role of dancers before sages in order to tempt them: they are bestowers of gifts, too.
- (b) Dancing is one of the arts taught to princes; both Rāma and Rāvaṇa are spoken of as being proficient in it. Actors and professional dancers are popular and the *gaṇikā* is an important member of society where she is honoured and her presence is considered auspicious. The people of the town dance in joy and in sorrow.
- (c) Images relating to dance, where objects of nature are compared to dancing and dancers, are frequent.
- (d) Specific types of dancing are mentioned in the *Sundarakāṇḍa* where the qualities of Rāvaṇa are described. This is one of the first references to the art concerning its actual technique. Also, the epic exhibits the author's great sensitivity to physical movements and gestures.

The *apsarās* feature throughout the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Indra sends Rambhā to entice Viśvāmitra (I. 6. 4. 10) through music (*gīta*), but, of course, the *ṛṣi* suspects treachery and curses her; thus conquering all interruptions, he attains the status of the great *ṛṣi*. The *apsarās* are, however, not mere enticers; they rejoice over mortal conquests and shower benediction, sing and dance before Rāma's *rājyābhiṣeka*. Rāma himself is adept in the various branches of knowledge including the *gandharva vidyā*, suggesting here the arts of music and dancing. (AK, 2. 35). That these arts are attributed to Rāma is a significant fact. He is often addressed as the *gandharvarāja*. (AK, 3. 27). When he returns to Ayodhyā after his long exile, the populace that gathered in balconies to welcome him home is itself like a throng of the *gandharvas*. Rāvaṇa, his opponent, is also described as dancer of no mean calibre.

The people of these two kingdoms are keenly dance-minded. The art occupies an important place in the social life of the time and the epic is replete with references to and descriptions of this noble art. Our very first picture of Ayodhyā as a city full of prosperity, peace and satisfaction is a picture where the entertainments are a sign of the general prosperity of the rule. For, here amongst other beauties of roads, trees, bowers and gardens, there is no dearth of musicians and dancers, and we see that the *nāṭakaśālā* for the brides is also provided (*BK*, 5. 12 ff.). In such a city so complete with the variety of life, which has sages, kings, learned men and *siddha puruṣas*, there are actors, too. The *naṭa*, the *nartaka* and the *gaṇikā* are important members of this society and nothing ceremonial can take place without them. In the story of R̥ṣyaṣṇga, the *gaṇikās*, through their dance and music and decorated forms, call the *ṛṣi* to a town which has been threatened by drought and famine: here they are almost supernatural instruments of goodness who can coax through these arts the most austere of sages (I. 10.). King Daśaratha sends specially for these heralders of joy before the *yajña* takes place. Men of all vocations—craftsmen, carpenters, masons—are sent for, and the list also includes the *naṭa*, the *nartaka* and the *gaṇikā*; the followers of these three professions are mentioned separately (I. 13. 7-8). The distinction of these categories indicates the separate existence of the art of theatre and the art of dancing besides the profession of the courtesan (*gaṇikā*). After Rāma's marriage, the same congregation watches amidst excitement and eagerness the entry of the wedded couple (*BK*, I. 77).

In the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, the *naṭa*, the *nartaka*, the *gaṇikā* and the *gāyikā* add an extra touch of gaiety and form, as if they were the centre of popular jubilation preceding the proclamation of Rāma as the *yuvarāja*. (*AK*, II. 1. 13-14). And it is this Ayodhyā, so expectant with hope, which is suddenly deprived of its dance and music, when Bharata enters it after his father's death and brother's exile. He can neither hear music nor the rhythm of drums in this town. These symbols of auspiciousness have disappeared from this city of woe where neither the sound of song nor that of instruments is to be heard; nor is to be found the scent of sandal wood (*candana*) or incense (*aguru*) (*AK*, 114. 19-20). And now this city is the symbol of pestilence, of anarchy—a city without a king. Vaśiṣṭha says in another context, "In such a city neither the actor (*naṭa*) nor the dancer (*nartaka*) is happy and satisfied". (*AK*, 67. 15). And it is this city to which, amidst preparations of jubilation, festivity, music and dance, Rāma returns after the long years of exile. Bharata goes to meet him in a procession which consists not only of the queens and the queen mothers, the citizens, the chief priests and the *brāhmaṇas* but also the courtesans: they consecrate the beloved king with flowers, incense, and their *añjali hastas* seem to be full-blown lotuses. And then the blessings that are bestowed on the king are equally significant. "May he awaken and sleep with the sound of high drums and tinkling bells (*nūpura*) and so blessed may he rule this world, till the earth would be, and till the sun continues to shine in the heavens" (*UK*, I and II). And so touching and exciting is the beautiful ceremony of the consecration and

coronation of this king that the *apsarās* themselves start dancing (UK, II. 11 ff.). The word *lāsya* is used here for dancing.

Dancing in this society is a simple entertainment and a happy pastime. It is in this context that we find dancing associated with Bharata. He has had a dream and is superstitious: his uncle does all that he can to amuse him. Many friends come from the assembly to divert his attention from the mood of dejection; instruments are played; dances are performed; dramas of different types are created. Humorous plays are enacted and stories told but Bharata is not amused or entertained. (AK, 69. 4-5). From these instances we learn of the various types of dramatic performance in vogue at that time. From another description, we also gather that a courtesan danced the *lāsya* for him.

The elaborate feast of dance and music that *Ṛṣi Bharadvāja* entertains Bharata with is incomparable to any festivity of the same grandeur in literature. *Nārada* sings for Bharata; the *apsarās*—*Mīśrakeshi*, *Pundrikā* and *Vāmanā*—dance for him, the very trees of *pipala* move in the rhythm of dance and other trees take the shapes of dwarfs and hunch-backs to present plays for Bharata's entertainment. So elaborate is the preparation and so successful is the performance that the soldiers of Bharata, completely infected with this spirit of festivity, also start dancing (AK, 91. 25-62). The words *nṛtta* and *laya* are used in this context. Dancing forms an integral part not only of the festivities and rejoicings of the people of Ayodhyā but also plays an important part in their funerary and mourning rites. One such description of gesticulation we find after the death of King Daśaratha, when the queens assemble to mourn the death of their lord and master. The *pāṇivādaka* comes here to narrate the deeds of the dead king; this *pāṇivādaka* must have been equivalent to the *pāṇighna* of the *Vājasaneyī Samhitā* and was perhaps a professional musician who gave rhythm with his hands. The *pāṇi-tāla* is also referred to in the *Mahābhārata* as a measure of music. At these functions, all classes of society are thus represented and women of noble birth and eunuchs come to sing the praises of the demised king (AK, 65. 2-4 ff.).

These arts are as honoured and respected in this kingdom of the *sūryavansīs* as they are in the *vānara* and *rākṣasa* kingdoms. Sometimes, they are also used for debasement and decadence of mind and are associated with wine and drunkenness along with their purely artistic counterparts.

In the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, we find that the kingdom of the *Vānaras* resounds with the sounds of music and dance: the very leaves, plants and trees of the forest dance: the birds and animals keep time to this harmony and the entire natural scenic description is full of images drawn from dance. As the brothers go up the hill after the coronation of *Sugrīva*, they hear the sound of the *mṛdaṅga* and the music of the *Kiṣkindhā*: they can also hear the thunders of the *vānaras* (KK, 27.27).

The city itself, as also the path to it, is beautiful, where the *apsarās* themselves dwell,—and the sound of ornaments, music and the *mṛdaṅga* is heard far and wide (KK, 13.22). Later, Lakṣmaṇa proceeds to the palace of Sugriva and hears the sounds of *vīṇā*: the verses recited by women are full of rhythm, (*śamtāla yukta*). The king himself is engrossed deeply in the sweet, languorous sound of music and the intoxication of women who have sung and danced around him; from this bower, Lakṣmaṇa appears to shake off the king's lethargy and stirs him to action. The *vānara* king is naturally ashamed and embarrassed at Lakṣmaṇa's appearance at such a moment (KK, 30. 24-27).

In the golden city of Laṅkā, pleasure and sensation are connected with this art in every line of the first few cantos of the *Sundarakāṇḍa*. This city made by the heavenly architect Viśvakarmā is full of beautiful beings: if there are guards outside the palace, then far within concealed from view are the female retinue, whose tinkling armlets make a sound like the music of the sea. Inside the palace, music rises and falls, and the sounds of drum (*mṛdaṅga*) and conch (*śaṅkha*) can be heard. *Vānara* Hanumāna, for whom the *gandharvas* and the *vidyādharas* have prayed, arrives here and he is so stunned by the beauty of the city that he mistakes it for *gandharvanagara*, for *Indrapurī* (SK, 4. 6-11). He hears the sound of music and the rhythmic sound (*nināda*) of anklets (*nūpura*): the music emerges from the head, the heart and the throat (SK, 4. 7). As he moves from the city gates to the palace and from the palace to the ladies' bower (*rāni-vāsa*) in the interior, we have a vivid picture of the sights he sees and the sounds he hears. The sound of anklets is familiar and the sound of the *mṛdaṅga* resounds in every room of the palace: there is dancing to the *mṛdaṅga* with perfect rhythm (*tāla*) (SK, 5). The women of the palace have sung and danced till they are weary and asleep in graceful attitudes (SK, 10. 29-53). Then follows a vivid description of a court of musicians and dancers who have sung and danced till the early hours of dawn and who, with the instruments on their laps, against their breasts, in their arms, have just slumbered off—and amidst them sleeps Rāvaṇa. The instruments themselves dance. A type of *vīṇa* known as the *vīṇā* has been played, and we notice that the word *nṛtyaśālīnī* has been used here for a *vīṇā* (SK, 10. 41). All the queens of the king are proficient in the arts of music and dancing, *nṛtyavaditrākuśalā* (SK, 10. 31). Tired of dancing, they slumber wherever they can, but even in sleep their attitudes are those which might represent the *bhāvas* of dancing (SK, 10. 36): the word *aṅgahāra* is used in this context. The poses they attain are a testimony to the awareness of poses in dancing. In these verses we have a very precise description of the various musical instruments common in those days; we have as many as five different percussion instruments mentioned here, as also flutes and lutes of all variety²⁰. It is with this music and dance that Rāvaṇa tempts Sītā: wooing her, he offers her all his riches, and all the festive joys of his court, the music, the dance and the song (*gīta*, *nṛtya* and *vādyā*, V. 20, 10). Actually, according to a later Indian tradition, Rāvaṇa was not only a great composer, an accomplished musician, an adept at playing the

drum and the Indian lute but was also one of the cleverest dancers. It is said that his music and dance pleased Śiva so much that the three-eyed god presented him with a sword called *Candrahāsa*, (i.e., laughter of the moon) and adopted him as one of his foremost devotees. Sanskrit devotional literature preserves till today the text of the dance music which he is said to have composed and interpreted in gesture language and to which he danced before Śiva. He is said to have performed some of the most intricate and difficult of the god's own *tāṇḍava* steps.

The grotesque and the ritual *kālī* dances also find their beginnings here in the dance of the *rākṣasis* who promise to dance before Nikumbhilā, the image of Bhadra Kālī, after having threatened and tortured Sitā to an intolerable degree. (SK, 24. 44). That this terrific dance was to form a significant ritual in an aspect of our religion is clear as early as these epics. This is, perhaps, the beginning of the virile *ārabhaṭī* style which later becomes an integral part of dancing.

From the foregoing instances, we can gather that dancing in this culture is associated with both heroism and feminine grace. It is an essential accomplishment but is liable to misuse in a degenerated society ritual and death dances are also not unknown.

Besides these direct references to dancing, the most beautiful descriptions in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are seen in the poetic imagery born of dancing. Very fine pictures of dancing can be drawn through these images where the objects of nature constitute full orchestra. When Bharata goes to seek Rāma in Citrakuṭa, the feast at the *Rṣi Bharadvāja's* gives us a fine evidence of the orchestration of the time. The rhythm that the trees use is *sampa*³⁰, and they perform it in proper tempo (*laya*); the percussion instrument used is the *mṛdaṅga*; the lute is the musical instrument (AK, 91. 21 ff.). The simile is elaborately and delicately worked out: to this accompaniment of music there is not only the solo dance of the *pipala* tree but also a detailed description of the dances of other trees; a few others take the parts of dwarfs; the creepers take the feminine roles. All of them dance to entertain Bharata.

Beautiful images are found in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*. In Canto I of this *Kāṇḍa*, Rāma's poignant description of the *pampā tāla* is as touching as it is moving. The quiet tone of pathos and of the pangs of separation, which runs through this canto, has made it one of the finest pieces of lyrical beauty in Sanskrit poetry. As we read this canto we are aware of the great sensitivity of this hero, in each image, dancing stands as a symbol of re-union and rejoicing. He sees the trees, the breezes and the bees dancing and is aware of his own separation; the peacocks who dance and play in union with each other seem to mock at him. In a beautiful metaphor, he talks of breezes (*vāyu*) as the evoker of dance in the trees. The breeze plays with every floweret on the spray whether floating in the air or on the ground. The breeze shakes the gay boughs of flowery trees, bears the humming throng of bees and

produces the *ṣaṭpadī* song: the humming of these bees is the song that *vāyu* hears: again *vāyu* springs from the mountain caves and teaches the trees to dance; the *kokilās* too are mad with the delight of song (*KK*, 1. 13-16). This breeze is, as it were, the teacher of dance. The scents of this atmosphere soothe the fatigued Rāma: but the calls of birds, the music of bees, and the dance of trees only make the separated Rāma long for Sītā all the more. This dance of the trees is closely akin to the dance of the peacock, which is mentioned again and again in this canto. The dance of the peacock is the dance of those who are happy and joyous in love and thus this dance of the pair only intensifies the hero's longing (verses 36, 40, etc.). We find that dance is a symbol of love and re-union; in later literature the peacock's dance becomes a stock image of such a reunion. When the rains come to indicate the re-union of the heaven and the earth, then peacocks dance, and it is this re-union during monsoon that the hero longs for in these stanzas.

In Canto 28, we come across another beautiful description. Rāma describes the rains. The fleecy clouds heave sighs like Rāma himself; the odorous shrubs in rain drops weep; the great sky like a mighty steed groans at each call to speed; the humming of bees is like the sound of the *vīṇā*; the frogs provide the rhythm (*tāla*) with their throats, and the clouds thunder as if they were playing on the *mṛdaṅga*, and to this orchestration the peacock dances. The king of the forest is joyous, with smell, scent, sound and movement, and the peacock stands as the supreme symbol of beauty and joy of the monsoon (*KK*, 28. 35-37). This image of the clouds playing the *mṛdaṅga* or being the *mṛdaṅga* and the bees as the *vīṇā* becomes one of the most stylized images in Sankrit poetry. Whenever the beauty of the monsoon is spoken of, the music of these forms of nature constitute the orchestration.

There are other minor and less significant images of this kind used throughout the *Rāmāyaṇa*: through these and other references to social and court dancing discussed earlier, we can easily form an idea of the classical dance as it must have been practised during the period. Although it is not yet stylized, it is an art which has come to have its categories, varieties and differentiations in technique. The technique of dancing which can be gathered from this evidence may be summed up as follows:

Nṛta was distinguished from *nāṭaka*: the *naṭa* and the *nartaka* formed two different classes of actors. The *naṭas* were perhaps general actors of drama and the *nartakas*, the specialized people in the field. *Lāsya* was identified with *nṛtya* and was a special sphere of the *gaṇikā* as is clear from references in the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* (69. 4.). Different types of theatrical performances were known including those constituting the funny and humorous characters like the dwarfs, the eunuchs, and the like (*AK*, 91). In the dance proper, *tāla* (rhythm) was an integral part of dance: every time a dance was performed, rhythm was an essential feature of it (*KK*, 28. 35-36, etc.). There was also a consciousness of *laya* (tempo) as a desired

quality of dance (KK, 91. 27). The basic accompaniments of dance were the *viṇā* and the *mṛdaṅga*: these instruments were essential and basic and others constituted the rest of orchestration. Several percussion instruments were known to the queens of Rāvaṇa (SK, 10).

Besides these examples, there are words which assume technical meanings in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*: the *añjali* is a gesture of honour and respect but the derivative use of it is rarely seen here: the *saṁyutahasta añjali* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* must have evolved from usage such as this. The *aṅgaḥāra*, a highly technical phrase in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, is used here generally to indicate the posture of the sleeping queens of Rāvaṇa. The words *aṅga* and *upāṅga* (BK, 55. V. 10) are used here only in the context of the art of the bow and arrow; in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* they are used in a highly technical sense.

The *naṭa*, the *nartaka* and the *gaṇikā* are professional actors and dancers who occupy an important place in society in many ways. They are specially engaged on auspicious occasions to share the activities of society. The word *śailūṣa* occurs for one of the five *gandharva gr̥hapatis* in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, but one is not sure whether it has any connexion with the Vedic *śailūṣa* of the *Puruṣamedha Yajña* (KK, 41. 43). We find here a reference also to the *kausika* land, from which Bharata later derives the *kaiśiki vṛtti* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

In education dancing is considered essential for the prince; and people of royal descent are familiar with this art.

The ritual of household ceremonies continues to provide material to the dancer; a full-fledged technique of gesticulation is subsequently evolved from it.

The mythological legends continue to have dancers as characters. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *apsarās* are the most important mythological characters who dance and perform both in heaven and on earth.

The following words connected with music and dance frequently occur in the *Rāmāyaṇa*:

<i>Śailūṣa</i>	.. For a class of people; also for the dancing master of the maidens of the royal courts (AK, 83. 15 and AK, 30. 8)
<i>Naṭa</i>	.. For the professional actor (UK, 64. 3 and AK, 67. 15)
<i>Nartaka</i>	.. For the professional dancer (UK, 64. 3. and AK, 67. 15)
<i>Gaṇikā</i>	.. For the professional courtesan, whose main vocation was singing and music (AK, 15. 8 and AK, 3. 16, etc.)
<i>Pāṇivādaka</i>	.. The rhythm players or the drum-players, thereby showing us the very important role played by rhythm.

<i>Gāyikā</i>	.. Songstress (<i>AK</i> , 6. 14)
<i>Tālāpacara</i>	.. Akin to the <i>pāṇivādakas</i> —musicians who kept time
<i>Gandharva-tatva</i>	.. Used for the principles of music and dancing (<i>BK</i> , 4. 10 and <i>UK</i> , 23. 51)
<i>Nṛtya</i> and <i>Gīta</i>	.. Frequently mentioned together,—whether in the court of Rāma or in the court of Rāvaṇa or Sugrīva (<i>BK</i> , 32. 12; <i>UK</i> , 2. 11; <i>UK</i> , 42. 20 ff; <i>SK</i> , 10. 32, ff; also <i>KK</i> , 27. 26 and <i>KK</i> , 33. 20)
<i>Nṛtta</i>	.. For dancing (<i>AK</i> , 91. 25 and <i>KK</i> , 20. 10)
<i>Lāsyā</i>	.. For dancing and <i>nṛtta</i> , (<i>AK</i> , 69. 4)
<i>Aṅgahāra</i>	.. For pose as a generic term (<i>SK</i> , 10. 36)
<i>Nāṭaka</i>	.. For drama proper (<i>AK</i> , 69. 4)
<i>Nūpura</i> and <i>kiṅkiṇi</i>	.. For the tinkling bells of the dancer, as also for ornaments of the feet (<i>KK</i> , 33. 25)
<i>Tāla</i>	.. For rhythm, both in general and technical sense
<i>Laya</i>	.. For tempo, used several times in a technical sense in the context of music and dance. Three types of tempo are known to them (<i>BK</i> , 4. 8; <i>AK</i> , 91. 27 and also <i>KK</i> , 28. 35 ff.)
<i>Mārgī</i>	.. Used in the context of singing: this is the same as the <i>mārgī</i> and <i>deśī</i> styles mentioned by the <i>Sāmaveda</i> (<i>BK</i> , 4. 29)
<i>Rasa</i>	.. Six <i>rasas</i> are listed (<i>BK</i> , 4. 8 ff.)

The following instruments are mentioned as essential accompaniments to dance: there is always a lute, a *viṇā*, and a percussion instrument, besides the vocal *gīta*. The percussion instruments mentioned specially in this context are:

<i>Maḍḍuka</i>	.. (<i>SK</i> , 10. 38)
<i>Mṛdaṅga</i>	.. (<i>YK</i> , 50. 16)
<i>Muraja</i>	.. (<i>AK</i> , 39. 41 and <i>UK</i> , 11. 5)
<i>Paṇava</i>	.. (<i>YK</i> , 59. 8)
<i>Pāṭakā</i>	.. (<i>YK</i> , 96. 35)

The instruments mentioned in connexion with war are:

<i>Bheri</i>	(<i>YK</i> , 50. 60)
<i>Dundubhi</i>	(<i>YK</i> , 51. 28 and <i>YK</i> , 32. 45)

The earthen musical instrument *kaasī* (SK, 10. 46) and the metallic *ghaṇṭā* (YK, 124, 120 ff) are also mentioned.

Various types of *tūrya*, wind-instruments, are frequently referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in connexion with dance recitals. *Viṇā* is by far the most favourite lute. The *vipañcī viṇā* (YK, 24. 42, ff.) and the *tantrī viṇā* (BK, 4. 8) find a mention in the *Bālakāṇḍa*.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we have thus the real beginnings of both the classical and the folk forms of dancing. We come to know from this work how dancing was both worship and entertainment, meant both for the professional dancer and the layman. The social, ritualistic and classical tendencies which we noticed in the Vedic literature have their first flowerings in this great epic of creative literature.

The *gaṇikās* of the *kāvya*s, the *apsarās* of Kālidāsa, and the *naṭas* and *nartakas* of Sanskrit drama, take their cues from their predecessors in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. By the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa* the character of the classical dance is almost set, and we are left with no doubt about the nature and character of the Indian dance in the religious or social milieu.

Mahābhārata

There are numerous allusions to and descriptions of dancing in the *Mahābhārata*. The celestial characters who dance in this epic and the legends in which dancing plays a significant part really deserve a separate study. As in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, so also in the *Mahābhārata*, we see a society where music and dancing were major arts to be enjoyed and practised. We have examples of both solo and group dancing; there are also many instances of stage performances with high technical skill.

The retinue of Indra's *apsarās* increases considerably by the time of the *Mahābhārata*: they descend upon earth to allure, to tempt and to be friendly with man. Urvaśī and Menakā descended upon earth for Pururavā and Viśvāmitra. Tilotamā is created not to allure in the same way as Urvaśī and Menakā but comes to destroy through her charms Sund and Upsund: she is described as being adept in the art of music and dancing.

Arjuna's association with each of these nymphs and celestial dancers is seen throughout the *Mahābhārata*. He is drawn down to the depths of the waters by Uḍūpi and is carried to the heavens by the *apsarās* of Indra's court. In life on earth, he is fascinated by the dancers of Kāmarūpa, is charmed by the dancing of Subhadrā and her friends in the Yādava land, Dvārakā: but above all, he is carried into Indra's court in the *Vana parva*, and it is here that he learns music and dancing: and we know in what good stead these arts stand him when he has to teach dancing, disguised as Bṛhannalā, in the *Virāṭa parva*.

We do not find any references to the techniques of dancing in the section dealing with lessons given to Arjuna by the *apsarās* of Indra's court. The *gandharvas* and the *apsarās* entertain him with both music and dancing: the *gandharvas* headed by Tamburu are skilled in music, dancing and chanting. The *apsarās*—Ghṛtācī, Menakā, Rambhā, Svayamaprabhā, Urvaśī and Mīsrakeśī—danced for him. The description that follows gives us no indication of the type of dance they danced, for the glances they cast, the hips they move, and the movements of their bosoms are descriptions which might be of any dance: (*mahākaṣi katākṣa kampamānaiḥ payodharaiḥ*)³¹. It is after this that Indra suggests that Arjuna learn music and dancing from Citrasenā. He asks Arjuna to learn instrumental music etc. (*vāditra*), which is not known to the mortals. And then Citrasenā instructs him in *gīta*, *vādyā* and *nṛtya* (song, instrumental music, and dance): when his friendship ripens he learns the dance and music of the *gandharvas* and becomes an expert in different types of dance and diverse genres of music, both vocal and instrumental. From this description, it is clear that music, dancing, and instrumental music are always considered together and seldom in isolation; the mutual dependence of these arts and their inter-relationship is also recognized. It is also clear that by the time of the *Mahābhārata* the arts of music and dance were considered essential for the education of princes. They must have also developed sufficient content, form and style to be taught in a systematic manner. The training also seems to be elaborate with well-defined rules and regulations.

In the next section of the same *parva* we have the exquisite description of Urvaśī going to the abode of Arjuna.³² The sculptor, the poet, and the painter have all been inspired by this *apsarā*, and to the dancer she symbolizes even today the ideal form, but Arjuna, the self-disciplined man, is not tempted by her, and his replies to her advances are full of gravity and sanctity. It is then that Urvaśī curses him, and the curse becomes a reality when Arjuna has to play the part of the eunuch Bṛhannalā. From allusions in the *Virāṭa parva*, it is clear that dancing was an essential art, a part of educational and cultural training of a young girl: there was for this purpose a special hall (*nartanaśālā*), where training was imparted. Apparently, the courtiers of King Virāṭa's court are connoisseurs; the interview of Arjuna for the post is interesting from this point of view. Arjuna presents his full credentials, mentions his past employment with the Pāṇdavas, and it is after the king is convinced of his capabilities, and the queen of his character, and the court advisers approve of him as Bṛhannalā that Arjuna is appointed as a dance teacher³³. He stresses at his interview that he is an expert in all the three aspects of this art, namely, *gīta*, *vādyā* and *nṛtya*.

The *nṛtyaśālā* or *nartanaśālā* is the venue of Kicaka's *vadha* later in the same *parva*. From the references here it seems that the *nartanaśālā* was a place for practice and training, and not one for performance. No one appears to be in this hall at night and Kicaka can conveniently be invited to this *nāṭya* or *nartanaśālā*.

Other allusions to dance, music, and drama in the *Mahābhārata* confirm our views regarding the vital role of music and dancing in society. Celestial dancers, professional dancers, and amateur dancers are all known to this society; and dancing is associated with heroes, heroines, celestial beings and *rākṣasas* alike. There are other important references to the nature of the stage and the auditorium in the *Rājasūya Yajña parva*, but, since they relate to the construction and nature of the *prekṣāgrha* and not to the technique of dancing, a detailed analysis of these is not being undertaken.

It is material from the *Mahābhārata* that the *Purāṇas* adopt for their purpose; and in them we find the full flowering of certain aspects of music and dancing which are seen only in their nascent state in the *Mahābhārata*.

Purāṇas

Harivaṁśa

The *Harivaṁśa*, the supplement to the *Mahābhārata*, has often been studied and analyzed as a rich source of dance and drama. We are not concerned here with the evidence which the *Harivaṁśa* provides to support theories of the religious origin of drama; our chief concern is with the evidence relating to dance. The work is significant, for in it we find the earliest elaborate reference to the *rāsa* dance of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

In the *Harivaṁśa*, the sport of Kṛṣṇa with the *gopīs* in Vṛndāvana is graphically described (II. 20) without being named. In the colophon to the chapter, however, the word *hallīsaka* occurs. In another place the words *hallīsaka*, *rāsa* and *chālikya* occur (II. 89). From an analysis of this verse, we can draw some important conclusions about dance. In this sport of Kṛṣṇa, Nārada, Balarāma, the celestial courtesans, all take part: "the courtesans begin the *rāsa* (equated to song by Nilkaṇṭha, the commentator) by using the language, dress and movement befitting the occasion." Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa join the dance in the company of Revatī and Satyabhāmā.

Arjuna and Nārada, the sage, are present as guests. Arjuna, in the company of Subhadrā, and Nārada, with dishevelled hair, dances among the Yādavas, Nārada is so frenzied that he becomes the leader of the *rāsa*.

A feast follows. After being fully refreshed, the Yādavas in the company of women begin to sing in concert. It is nightfall. Kṛṣṇa desires that the *chālikya* opera be set in tune. Then Nārada takes up the *viṇā*, Kṛṣṇa leads the *hallīsaka*, and Arjuna and the courtesans play upon the *mṛdaṅga*. Rambhā, Urvaśī, Menakā and other heavenly courtesans sing and act to the full satisfaction of Kṛṣṇa.

According to the text, the *chālikya* opera was brought down from “heaven by Kṛṣṇa for the delight of men and put to application by Pradyumna, the son of Rukmiṇi. Only five artists could practise it—Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Sāmba. This *chālikya* was the gift of Kṛṣṇa to the Yādavas for the benefit of men.”³³

From the foregoing account, it appears that the *rāsa* and the *hallisaka* were mixed entertainments: of both these singing and dancing were the main features, and the *chālikya* was a special kind of an operatic performance, which consisted of song, instrumental music and dance.

In the light of this reference, we can analyze the earlier reference (II. 20) where the *rāsa* dance is described but not named: it is called *hallisaka-kṛīḍā nṛtya*, *gīta kṛīḍā* (ibid, verse 27).

The dance is held on a full-moon night of the autumn season. The *gopīs*, as if under a spell, come out to dance with the lord. They form a circle and move with hands interlocked. The nymphs of the cowherds form pairs in a chain and sing the praises of Kṛṣṇa (*Harivaṁśa*, II. 20). Nilakaṇṭha in his commentary uses the terms *hallisaka* and *rāsa* and describes them thus: “the sporting of one man with several women is called *rāsa* sport” (*ekasya puruṣo bahubhiḥ strībhiḥ vṛdanam saha rāsakṛdā*): and “the circular dance formation of the *gopīs* is called *hallisaka*” (*gopinām maṇḍalī-nṛtam bandhane hallisakam viduḥ*). Commenting on the *pañkti*, Nilakaṇṭha says, “*Pañkti* here stands for *maṇḍala* or ring: the couples imply that Kṛṣṇa was between every two *gopīs*.” He quotes some other *Vaiṣṇava* work which says, “Between each two damsels was Mādhava and between each two Mādhavas was a nymph: and the son of Devakī played the *veṇu* (flute).³⁴ In fact, Kṛṣṇa does not only dance with each *gopī* but is also by himself in the centre.” The commentator cites a passage from the *Rgveda* (III. LV. 14)³⁵ to support this view of the ‘One’ participating and yet standing apart.

Nilakaṇṭha, elucidating further on the histrionic features of the sport, quotes a verse from some unnamed source: “Driving a stout round and smooth spike of the measure of a *vitasti* into the earth, and then moving towards one another with the feet and rotating of the hands—this is *rāsa*.”

It is said that the *gopīs* recite laudatory verses in praise of Kṛṣṇa. They form a circle around Kṛṣṇa, and this dance with the circle formation is called *rāsa* (according to Nilakaṇṭha). Here, Kṛṣṇa introduces a novel feature by being present between each two damsels: the circle formation is thus not only a simple single file circle formation with interlocked hands (*śṛṅkhalā*)³⁶ but a more complicated one where each couple is by itself and yet is in the circle formation. This suggests a choreography of concentric circles in pairs. The driving of a spike into the ground

and dancing around it introduces a new feature hitherto unnoticed and reduces the *rāsa* dance to the rank of a fertility dance.

Of the nature of the *rāsa* dance we learn little more than circle formations: the nature of the circle formation was either simple where the women only joined hands with each other or somewhat more complicated where couples stood together to form two circles. Clapping (*tāla* with the hands) also seems an essential feature of this dance.

Without going into the philosophic interpretation of the *rāsa* dance, we may here only point out that, from Nīlkaṇṭha's characterization of the *rāsa* dance around a stout circular spike, it would not be too far-fetched to conclude that the original *rāsa* dance was performed by men and women in couples round a spike, which perhaps represented the phallus.³⁷ It was performed both by women alone, and by men and women together.

Circular dance formation is by far the most common dance formation of all nations, and the present *rāsa* dance in terms of 'dance-choreography' does not come to us as anything new; the circle however acquires a special symbolic significance in the Kṛṣṇa legend.

Kṛṣṇa is the supreme dancer throughout the *Purāṇas*. the Yādavas are often described as artists. *Naṭas* are called to entertain the *ṛṣis*: Subhadrā, a famous actor, is called for this purpose once. The race celebrates each occasion with music, dance and a revelry unique to the Hindu *Purāṇic* literature. They play on instruments of the sky and the waters: their women sing to the music of the *jaladardura*: the *chālīkya* is their favourite composition of music and opera, and Nārada joins with his *vīṇā* of six *svaras* (notes), on which he plays different *rāgas*: the *apsarās* join in with *nṛtya* and *abhinaya*, and the *mṛdaṅga* forms the constant accompaniment of these operas, songs and dances (II. 90-60 ff.).

The Yādavas use these arts to conquer demons: that is why Kṛṣṇa organizes a party of dancers and actors to enter into the enemy Vajratabha's city. Pradyumna leads this party and a special *naṭa bhadra* is created for this purpose. The Yādavas take several roles in the dramas presented by this group. Pradyumna is the hero (*nāyaka*), Śamba is the clown (*vidūṣaka*) and Śurvīra Gadā is the *naṭa* who accompanies the *sūtradhāra*.

The group is complete, with orchestration, musicians, major character actors and minor chorus dancers: they have a large repertoire of dance dramas: one is based on the *Rāmāyaṇa*; another is called *Rambhisara*; and a third is based on Kubera (II. 93, 59 ff.). The *Rāmāyaṇa* brings Daśaratha, Rāma, Lakṣmana all on the stage: in the *Rambhisara*, Śura plays the part of Rāvaṇa and Manovati enacts

the role of Rambhā: Pradyumna becomes Nalakubera and Sāmba his *vidūṣaka*. The performance follows a very definite sequence. The play begins with the sound of musical instruments, tuned perfectly with the *tantrī* (*vīṇā*). The *saśuśira*, the *muraja* and the *aṅka* are followed by vocal music in the *devagandhāra*: the composition is again *chālikya*. Pradyumna does rhythmic movements to this music before the actual play begins; these movements were obviously not meant for the entire audience. Soon after the *nāṇḍi*, another musical instrument, sounds. It is only when the *nāṇḍi* has (II. 93, 27 ff.) sounded that the actual play starts and the characters come on to the stage to perform.

From the description of the actual performance, we gather that *nṛtya* and *abhinaya* are clearly distinguished; *laya* and *tāla* play an important part; vocal and instrumental music with percussion instruments is an integral part of the visual performance (II. 93). The plays the Yādavas stage are termed as *nāṭakas* but the performance itself is always referred to as dancing: (*nṛtya* or *nṛtta* are the words used).

The above example is significant for the minute details, with which the sequence of the performance is described and for what it tells us of the various components of the drama. It is also worth noting that the dramatized version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was by this time an accepted number of the theatrical repertoire.

There is hardly a *Purāṇa* which does not treat of the *rāsa* dance. We may look into the dances described in only three *Purāṇas*, namely, the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the *Śrīmad Bhāgavata* and the *Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa*. They describe many types of *rāsa* dances: some of the descriptions are elaborations or descriptions in the *Harivaṁśa*³⁸.

Viṣṇu Purāṇa

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* describes an elaborate *rāsa* dance. In the words of Wilson³⁹, "Kṛṣṇa observing the clear sky bright with autumnal moon and the air perfumed with fragrance of the wild water lily, felt inclined to join the *gopīs* in sport. Accordingly, he and Rāma started singing sweet and low strains in various measures. Thus surrounded by the *gopīs*, Kṛṣṇa thought the lovely moonlight of autumn propitious for the *rāsa* dance. Many *gopīs* imitated different actions of Kṛṣṇa and in his absence wandered through Vṛndāvana."⁴⁰

"I am Kṛṣṇa, see the elegance of my movements". "I am Kṛṣṇa, listen to my song." Thus the various actions of Kṛṣṇa the *gopīs* imitated.⁴¹ Then Mādhava, coming amongst them, conciliated some with soft speeches, some with gentle looks (*bhru-bhaṅga vīkṣita*)⁴¹ and some he took by the hand: the illustrious deity sported with them in the joy of the dance. Since each of the *gopīs* attempted to keep in one place so as to be close to Kṛṣṇa, the circle of the dance could not be constructed, and

he therefore took each by the hand and when their eyelids were shut by the effect of his touch the circle was formed.” This is rather an inexplicit statement, and Wilson rightly points out that the commentary makes it clear. “Kṛṣṇa, it is said, in order to form the circle, takes each damsel by the hand and leads her to her place. There he quits her: but the effect of the contact is such that it deprives her of the power of perception and she contentedly takes the hand of her female neighbour thinking it to be Kṛṣṇa’s.”⁴²

From this account, Nīlkaṇṭha’s explanation of the *rāsa* dance is confirmed, namely, that the *rāsa* was a circular formation of women around one man: but the important thing to note here, too, is that the interlocking of the hands was an essential feature and the *śṛṅghalā* (chain) was absolutely imperative. It is, however, not clear whether the dance was really of women alone, or of men and women in couples, as suggested by Nīlkaṇṭha in another portion of his commentary on the *Harivaṁśa*. This dance of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* continues “to the music of the clashing bracelets and songs that celebrated them in suitable strain the charms of the autumnal season. Kṛṣṇa sang the praises of the moon and the *gopīs* the praises of Kṛṣṇa. At times, one of them, wearied of the revolving dance, threw her arms round Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa sang the strain that was appropriate to the dance. The *gopīs* repeatedly exclaimed ‘*dhanya Kṛṣṇa*’ to his song. He led and they followed; and whether he went forwards or backwards they ever attended to his footsteps.”

Although these descriptions do not provide us with any technical data about the dance, they tell us, nevertheless, a great deal about the beginning of *rāsa* dances. *Rāsa* dance took varying shapes and forms in the different provinces of India; they are prevalent today as dances of men only, of women only and of women dancing around one man or couples dancing in a circle. The circle as the basic choreographical motif is common to them all. Perhaps the most direct descendants of the *rāsa* dances described in the *Purāṇas* are the *rāsa* dances of Vṛndāvan and far off in Manipur.

Srīmad Bhāgavata

The *Śrīmad Bhāgavata* describes another well-known and elaborate *rāsa* dance⁴³: the word *rāsakrīḍā* is mentioned here. In this dance Kṛṣṇa multiplied himself and actually stood between two women: the ring (*maṇḍala*) was thus formed with one man and one woman (i.e., one *gopī* and one Kṛṣṇa).

In this *rāsamaṇḍala* each *gopī* was dancing with her beloved (Kṛṣṇa): the type of *rāsa* suggested here is most definitely of couples, and is not a circle of women around one man.

The graphic description of the couples dancing in a circle tells us that the circle (*maṇḍala*) formation is the first requisite: it is a vigorous dance demanding

of the *gopīs* practice and stamina: their feet sometimes move fast, sometimes slow, their eyebrows are raised (*bhruvilasa*) to attract. To an appropriate song, the *gopīs* gesticulate with their hands and arms to express various sentiments (*Śrīmad Bhāgavata*, X, 8). This is the only suggestion of *abhinaya* in the description of the *rāsa* dances. The various forms of Kṛṣṇa are compared to the circle of clouds and the *gopīs* to lightning. The *Bhāgavata* uses the words, *krīḍā*, *nṛtya* and *nṛtta* frequently in this context. There is another masterly description of the *mahārāsa*; and the contemporary *mahārāsa* in Manipur till today is danced to these verses of the *Bhāgavata*.

A very much later *Purāṇa*, the *Brahma Vaivarta*, also devotes a section to the *rāsa* dance, (*Kṛṣṇa Janana Khaṇḍa*, XXVII). In the *rāsamaṇḍala* of the *Brahma Vaivarta*, Rādhā is accompanied by thirty-six of her special friends amongst the *gopīs*: but each of them is attended by thousands of inferior personages: and each is accompanied by a male multiple of Kṛṣṇa.

In the meditation upon Kṛṣṇa, which is enjoined in the *Brahma Vaivarta*, he is to be contemplated with his favourite Rādhā. According to Wilson,¹¹ the *maṇḍala* described in that work is “not a ring of dancers, but a circle of definite space, at Vṛndāvana within which Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and *gopīs* divert themselves, not very decorously.”

CODES, COMMENTARIES, LEXICONS, ETC.

Pāṇini

The *Aṣṭādhyayī* provides us with a fund of information on the music and dance known to Pāṇini. We have music and dance terms listed here, and we also learn from these *sūtras* of many theoretical texts of these arts.

The *Naṭya-sūtra*, attributed to Śilālin by Pāṇini, clearly shows that a dance text on the subject was prevalent. Pāṇini was familiar with the works of both Śilālin and Kśāśva, the two authors of the *Naṭya-sūtras* (IV. iii. 110-11, 129 respectively). (Perhaps these names stood for two schools of dramaturgy). It has often been asserted that the Śilālin of Pāṇini was a close relation of the Śailuśa of the *Yajurveda*, and the former's students formed the school of dancing known as *Śailālinah Naṭāḥ* (IV. 3. 110). Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* refers to the *nāṭas* as *śailālakas*: this is a corresponding term for Pāṇini's *śailālinah naṭah*. It seems that Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* was the product of the dramatic school of Śilālin which originated in the *Ṛg-Vedic carana* founded by a teacher who was also the author of a *Brāhmaṇa* work called *Śailāli Brāhmaṇa*, cited in the *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* (VI. 4. 7).

The students of dramaturgy, *śailālinah*, are nevertheless to be distinguished

from the *śailālāh* mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇas*. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 5. 3. 3) the term is used for a ritual teacher. The *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brahmana* (I. 2. 3. II. 4. 6) and the *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* also use the term *śailānāh*.⁴⁵ It is, however, clear that both these schools of thought are derived from the *Ṛg-Veda*: the *śailālakas* were originally a *Ṛg-Vedic carana* with their own *Brāhmaṇa* cited as the *Śailālaka Brāhmaṇa* in the *Āpastamba Brāhmaṇa* mentioned above. Kātyāyana also knows of this Vedic school of *śailālāh* (VI. 4. 144), and this school was undoubtedly concerned with Vedic and ritualistic study; the school of Śailālin of the *Naṭa sūtras* was closely connected with it and it must have been started under the auspices of the Vedic school; it was perhaps a different branch of study although founded by the same teacher; it was distinct also from the strictly orthodox school of Vedic studies.

Patañjali mentions the word *śobhanika* (actors) and does not make any distinction between *naṭa* and *nartakas* (III. 1. 26 and VI. 3. 43). Levi renders the meaning of *śobhanika* as “those who teach actors”.⁴⁶ Patañjali also often refers to the profession of *naṭas* (III. 2. 127) but the term *naṭa* is a generic and is applicable to anyone in the field of the theatre. Pāṇini’s definition of the *naṭa* approximates more closely to the description of a professional dancer than Patañjali’s. From the *Mahābhāṣya* we only learn that the training of the *naṭa* was important and that he was by no means an untrained street singer, dancer or actor; he was, however, greedy and hungry as the dancing peacock (*Mahābhāṣya*, III. 2. 127 and IV. 1. 3. etc.). Patañjali does know of *naṭa* teachers (*ākhyātā*) and of dance novices (*ārambhakāh*) in the art, who taught their art not through texts (*granthārtha*) but by direct methods of practice (I. 4. 29; I. 3. 29). This instruction was not considered an *upayoga* to be used strictly only for the approved religious system of teachers and initiated pupils. In all this discussion, the term *naṭa* is used connoting all forms of stage craft.

Pāṇini himself quite clearly distinguishes between *nartaka* and *nāṭya*,—even though he does not clearly make a distinction between a *naṭa* and a *nartaka*. Dance was also considered as one of the *śilpas* by Pāṇini, the synonym for the *sippa* of the *Jātakas*. *Saṅgīta* comprised of *nṛtya*, *gīta* and *vāditra* and sometimes *nāṭya*. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* refers to a dancer as *nartaka* (III. 1. 145), and to stage acting as *nāṭya* (IV. 3. 129).⁴⁷ Pāṇini also knew of a festivity termed *sammada* and *pramada*. *Sammada*, as interpreted by Dr. V. S. Agarwala,⁴⁸ must have been an opera like the *saṭṭaka* which is seen in the sculptures of Bharhut. The opera comprised music and dance and was performed on festive occasions.⁴⁹ The musical instruments for this dance are the lute (*vīṇā*), the percussion instruments, *maḍḍūka* (a small tabor) (IV. 4. 56), *dardura*, *mṛdaṅga* and the *paṇava*. The metal instrument *jhar-jhara* (a pair of cymbals) is also mentioned.

The idea of a concert of different instrumentalists is termed as the *tūrya*⁵⁰ and

the individual members as *tūryāṅga* (II. 4. 2). *Tūrya* is a collective noun denoting the grouping of two allied instruments. We have thus the term *mārdāṅgikapāṇa-vikam* for a set of players on the *mṛdaṅga* and the *paṇava*. Pāṇini also mentions the *parivādaka* in *Sūtra* III. 2. 146 without stating its meaning, but on Patañjali's authority we learn that the term stands for a lute-player.⁵¹ Keeping *tāla* (rhythm) with the hands is known as *paṇīgha* and *tālagha* (III. 2. 55).

Other related terms mentioned in Pāṇini concern vocal and instrumental music. Thus *gīti* (III. 3. 95) and *gaya* (III. 4. 68) are used for song: *gāthaka* (III. 1. 46) and *gāyana* (III. 1. 147) for a vocal singer, *gāthikā* and *gāyanī* for a songstress: the term *upavīṇayati* is used for singing with the *vīṇā*,—and the term *apa-vīṇam* (VI. 2. 187) is used for singing without the *vīṇā* (VI. 2. 187). The musical notes from the lute are known as *nikvaṇa* or *nikvāṇa* (III. 3. 65).

Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*

Treatises like Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* throw considerable light on the social status of dancers and actors and the facilities for their training provided by the state. Kauṭilya states quite clearly that "those who teach prostitutes, female slaves and actresses, arts such as singing (*gīta*), playing on musical instruments (*vādya*), reading (*pāṭhya*), dancing (*nartana*), acting (*nāṭyam*), writing (*akṣara*), painting (*citra*), playing on *vīṇā*, flute (*veṇu*), drum (*mṛdaṅga*) shall be maintained by the State."⁵²

The ladies trained by these masters were noted for their beauty, youth and accomplishment: the rules that governed the practice of the profession of the dancer, the courtesan and the prostitute were strict. Kauṭilya says, "The prostitute (*ganikā*) must supply to the superintendent as to the amount of her daily fees (*bhoga*) and her future income (*āyati*)"; further "the same rules shall apply to an actor (*naṭa*), to a dancer (*nartaka*), to a singer (*gāyaka*), to a player of musical instruments (*vādaka*), a buffoon (*vāgajīvana*), to a music player (*kuśīlava*), a rope-dancer (*plavaka*), a juggler (*śaubhika*), a wandering bard (*cāraṇa*). . . ."⁵³ The visiting professional dancer, singer would have to pay a fee of five *paṇas* as licence fee for his performance.

From the above account we know that the professional dancer achieved a definite status in society: the arts were no longer mere hobbies; the professional dancer was clearly distinguished from the professional actor⁵⁴ and the professional singer, although all of them were classed together. The *Arthaśāstra* does treat *gīta*, *vādya*, *nṛtya* and *nāṭya* as parts of *saṅgīta* like Pāṇini and Patañjali.

In the list of artists the *nartaka* is the classical dancer while the *kuśīlava* is the comparatively popular musician. Performances of the *kuśīlavas* are forbidden in the rainy season according to Kauṭilya. They cannot wander about and must stay at one place.⁵⁵

Kauṭilya also mentions *devadāsīs* in another chapter: they are connected with temples and are studiously taught the arts of music and dancing.⁵⁶

The demarcation between the classical dancer, who performs for the god, and the classical dancer, who performs on the stage is very definitely maintained. The tradition of the devotee dancing to the god and the tradition of the classical dancer of the stage were contemporaneous but distinct: at a later stage in history they merged into one another. Whatever may have been the differences in approach to the art form between the secular *nartakī* and the religious *devadāsī*, we cannot doubt the rigorous training of either: the *gaṇikās* and the *devadāsīs* have been responsible for preserving the rich tradition of the classical Indian dance through many centuries.

A look at the treatises on law convinces us of the important role played by the *gaṇikā* and the *devadāsī* in ancient and medieval Indian society. Dancing was, however, not the sole monopoly of these women. As we have seen earlier, too, it was an important accomplishment and was considered indispensable for the princes', the noblemen's and the princesses' education. Thus, according to Kauṭilya, most citizens should co-operate in preparing for a public play. "And if a man who has not co-operated in preparing for a public play or spectacle is found witnessing it, he shall be compelled to pay double the value of the aid due from him." That such shows were regularly held and produced follows quite clearly from innumerable references to professional actors in Sanskrit and Pali literature.⁵⁷

From these works we also gather that prostitution was recognized in this country from very early times but was frequently regarded with great disfavour. Since music and dancing were associated with prostitutes, these arts too started to be regarded with disfavour and thus Manu enjoins the prince to refrain from singing, dancing and music (VII. 46-47). He also asks the Brāhmaṇa to keep away from the courtesans (*Manu*, IV, 209). He does not look upon either the art or the profession with great favour (VIII, 65); he is indeed very sceptical of the statements of musicians and dancers.⁵⁸ So far, except for one or two uncomplimentary remarks in the *Mahābhāṣya*, we do not come across any derogatory statements: however, by the time of Manu, attitudes changed and music, dance and theatre began to be looked down upon.

Vātsyāyana and Śukrācārya

Dancing (in the context of education) is listed in the *Kāmasūtra*, *Śukranītisāra*, *Prabandhakośa*, *Lalitavistara* and a host of other similar lexicons. These authors give us long lists of fine arts which include anything from dancing and singing to the art of making garlands. The number of arts listed varies, but the most common number is sixty-four. The works in which these references are found are: *Rāmāyaṇa* (I. 9. 5), *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (X. 45. 36), *Mahābhāṣya* (I. 1. 57), *Daśakumāracarita*

(II. 21), *Kādambarī*, *Kāmasūtra* and the works of Vāmana, Māgha, Bhavabhūti and others. Some of the other works which contain these lists are: *Lalitavistara*, *Jātakamālā*, *Kalpasūtra*, *Aupapātika Sūtra* or *Praśnavyākaraṇa Sūtra*. Of these the *Lalitavistara* gives the number as 86 and the Jaina works as 72, the others mention 64. It is noticed that in all these lexicons—the sixty-four or seventy-two or eighty-six—*kalās* or *śilpas* include all that would be included in the very general term “art and craft” in Europe. The Indian works hardly make a distinction within the arts according to differences in psychological approach or the functionality of the art form; instead the distinctions which are made are in regard to the social status of the artist. We do have, nevertheless, a distinction made between the *śilpas* or vocational arts, and the *kalās* or avocational arts (accomplishment). It is nowhere conceived that a *śilpa* can be acquired without training under a master (*ācārya*) or can be practised other than as an hereditary profession.⁵⁹ The *Kāmasūtra* and the *Śukranītisāra* are the most interesting amongst this category of lexicons.

Kāmasūtra

Book I, Chapter III, of the *Kāmasūtra* is entirely devoted to the discussion of the sixty-four arts: of these eight arts belong to the sphere of music and dancing. The first three singing (*gītam*), instrumental music (*vādyam*) and dancing (*nṛtyam*) are simple and straightforward: the other three arts are connected with stage technique, histrionic representation. Art sixteen *nepathya-prayoga* is very near the *āharikābhinaya* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and deals with the varied crafts of the green room. *Kalā* thirty-two, the knowledge of histrionic and scenic representation, demands talent and concentration from both the audience and the actor. The last of these *vyāyāmikānām-vidyām* is related to dancing only in so far as physical exercise and fitness of the body is necessary for the dancer. *Kāmasūtra* also mentions the *viṇā* and the *ḍamaruka* in its list. Vātsyāyana also mentions these arts in his discussion of the education of courtesans.⁶⁰ The courtesans should be able to hold discussions on the arts: the training of a daughter of the *naṭa* is discussed⁶¹ and we are told that she should be given to ‘the one who would train her in the arts of dancing and singing’.

These arts are not confined to the courtesan: the citizen performs, participates and witnesses dances very often. The *samāja* and the *goṣṭhī* are the two social institutions where discussions and demonstrations on the arts are held and witnessed.⁶²

The words that Vātsyāyana used for dancing throughout are *nṛtya* and *nartana*. The *naṭas* are the professional actors and dancers, and dancing plays an important part in society at all levels.

Śukranītisāra

Śukrācārya's *Śukranītisāra* presents another list of sixty-four arts (*kalās*):

here *gītam*, *vādyam* and *nṛtyam* are not listed separately as in the *Kāmasūtra*: instead, two general subjects are mentioned: both of these are self-explanatory '*hāvabhāvādisamyuktam nartanam*', i.e., dancing with emotion, grace, etc., and the second '*anekavādyavikṛtau tadvādane jñānam*', i.e., the knowledge and ability to play various musical instruments.

The dancing that *Śukranītisāra* refers to is dancing proper which is accompanied by suitable expressions of the face, movements of the arms, etc., and, in short, all that we mean by *āṅgikābhinaya*.

On the whole *Śukrācārya* gives a very high place to the art of dancing. He often talks of the wealth of learning and at one place says, "The man who does not find pleasure in teaching, learning, preceptors, gods, arts, music, dancing and literature is either a man who has attained salvation or beast in the form of man."⁶³

While mentioning the ordinary political and administrative functions of the state, *Śukrācārya* does not forget the educational activities of the state: regarding encouragement to cultural activities he says, "The king should always take such steps as may advance the arts and sciences of the country. He should train up the officers appointed with salaries (*bhūti poṣitam*) in the cultivation of all the arts and, having seen that they have finished their studies, should appoint them in special fields. He should also honour those every year "who are very high in arts and science."⁶⁴

This clearly implies that the king should maintain students with scholarships for the study of various branches of learning and, after they have been sufficiently educated, should appoint them to their proper posts.

Prabandhakośa

The *Prabandhakośa* also mentions *nṛtyam* as one of the arts in its list of the 'seventy-two arts: the allied arts of singing (*gītam*) and instrumental music (*vādyam*) are also mentioned.⁶⁵

One of the chapters of *Rājatarāṅginī* mentions thirty-two modes of dancing and calls the whole *vādyam-nṛtyam* (dancing to the accompaniment of instrumental music).

It is significant that none of these works mentions the art of *tāla* (rhythm) separately, even though in the *kāvya*s we come across the phrase *samatālam* very early.

From all this we can easily conclude that dancing was performed to the accompaniment of song and instrumental music: also that *tāla* (or rhythm) which forms

such an important feature of Indian music was certainly existent but was not considered a separate art. However, from the number and variety of percussion instruments mentioned and the importance attached to rhythm, we can easily conclude that it was as highly developed and intricate as the other aspects of music and dance. It was certainly an integral part of both the training of a musician and a dancer. Since *tāla* (rhythm) was considered indispensable, it was perhaps not listed as a separate *kalā*.

Amarakośa

The *Amarakośa*, a later but an important lexicon, mentions several terms of music, dancing and rhythm. It devotes one complete *varga* (sub-chapter) to the subject of dramatics. It lists five categories of dancing, viz., *tāṇḍava*, *naṭākam nāṭyam*, *lāsyam*, *nṛtya* and *nartana*. This is a comprehensive list including all the categories of dancing (I. 7. 10). It also mentions the combined art of singing, instrumental music and dancing (*nṛtyagītam-vādyam*); it is called *tauryatrika*.⁶⁶ The lady who performs the *lāsyā* is called the *lāsikā* (I. 7. 8), and the courtesan who dances in the dramas is called *ajjukā*. It also refers to men who dance in the dress of women (I. 7. 10): *bhrūkumṣa* is the word used for them. The following terms of rhythm are included: *laya*, *tāla*, *vilambita*, *druta* and *madhya-laya* and *ekatāla*. The following musical instruments are listed: *vīṇā* (I. 7. 3), *vallakī*, *vipañcī*, *parivādinī* (a *vīṇā* with seven strings), *vaṃśī muraja*, *kānsya-tāla*, *ghana*, three types of *mṛdaṅga*, namely, *aṅkya*, *ālīṅgya* and *ūrdhvaka*;⁶⁷ *yaśa paṭaka* (a type of drum—*nagādā*), *ḍakka*, *āṇaka*, *paṭaka*, *ḍamaru*, *maḍḍu*, *ḍiṇḍima*, *jharjhara* (a kind of cymbals), *mar-dala*, *paṇava*, are the percussion instruments mentioned.

The various parts of the *vīṇā* are mentioned: (i) the striker is called *koṇa*, (ii) the lower part of the *vīṇā* is called *prasevaka*, (iii) *kolambaka* (a *vīṇā* without its strings), and the point where the strings of the *vīṇā* are tied it is called the *up-anāha* and *nibandhana*.

In the sphere of *abhinaya* besides mentioning ten types of *rāsa* (*śānta* and *vātsalya* included) and the *bhāvas* and *anubhāvas*, it lists the following terms of *āṅgikābhinaya*: (i) *aṅgahāra*, (ii) *aṅgavikṣepa*, (iii) *nivṛta bhru*, (iv) *āṅgikābhinaya*, and (v) *sāttvikābhinaya*.⁶⁸

BUDDHIST AND JAINA WORKS

Buddhist Literature

Buddhist literature and Buddhist canons frequently mention the arts of music and dancing. For the most part, these arts are spoken of in an appreciative manner and are considered as sophisticated arts to be learnt and mastered. There is, however, also evidence in these texts which would easily convince us of the base ends to which music and dancing were employed. These works provide sufficient data to convince us of the existence of an attitude of mind which considered the arts of

music and dancing as a snare and temptation to be resisted and overcome. Nonetheless we occasionally come across some highly technical references to dancing and music.

Without attempting to analyze each work in the Buddhist literature, we shall consider here only a few significant examples from some of the *Jātakas* and the other Buddhist canons.

In the *Jātakas* dancing peacocks often occur. *Jātaka* No. 32 tells the fable of a dancing peacock, which, by its impudent dance, forfeits its bride, the daughter of the bird king. Another story tells us of queen Rohini who was jealous of the dancing girl.⁶⁹ Another tells of a monk who was once a mime (*naṭa*).⁷⁰ Other *Jātaka* legends also abound with references to *naṭa* and *nāṭaka*.

In Book XX, No. 531 (*Kuśajātaka*), we find the expression: “*Detu nāṭakāni lepattha passāma—Bhadde puttassa te rajjam*”, i.e., “Lady in making over the kingdom to your son you should institute dramatic festivities.” In Part IV, 67 (*Udaya Jātaka*) Book XI, No. 458 occurs—“*Rāja puttam abhisincitva nāṭakāni*”, i.e. “The king desired to make his son king with the solemn sprinkling and to arrange plays for his pleasure.”

Nāṭakāni in the above passages means plays and dramatic performances. The *Jātakas* also speak about actors. Part VI, 102 (Book XXII, No. 543) reads “Nāgas look at a crowd to see whether any actor is near.” *Jātaka* (Book III, 287) has the following sentence: “Of the four who gain, one is that who has the actor’s tricks”. The most important mention of dramatic acts occurs in the *Kaṇavera Jātaka* (Book IV, part iii) where the Bodhisattva was a robber: the expressions—*naṭa*, *samāja*, *samāja-maṇḍali* are frequently used here.

In the other *Jātakas* we have frequent mention of the arts as part of the royal entertainment. Thus the *Khantivādi Jātaka* mentions four branches of music and dancing together as constituting a part of a royal entertainment, i.e., *gīta*, *vādyā*, *ṇṛtta* and *nāṭya*: (*gīta-vādita nacchesu cekā nāṭakitthiyo gītādinī payojayimsu*) (*Jātaka*, III. 40). From the same *Jātaka* we also learn that the *vīṇā* formed part of an orchestral band (*vīṇādinī tūriyāni*, *Jātaka*, III. 40). The clapper of the hands (one who beats time) is known as the *paṇissava* (*Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka*, VI. 267).

Women dancers are also referred to in the *Jātakas*: they are accomplished in dancing and music (*naccagīta vāditakuśala* or *nācagīta vāditakuśala*).⁷¹

In the *Jātakas* there is also a frequent reference to students who were sent at the king’s expense to study at Banaras: music and dancing formed subjects of that study.⁷²

In the *Mahāvastu*, dancing is an important feature of the court life of king Śuddhodana: the prince hears the sound of song, dance, drum, tabor, lyre, flute and cymbals in the palace and yet there is melancholy in his heart.⁷³ The Bodhisattva remains unattracted by all this and wishes to give up this play of recurrent life: he leaves the palace, and the description of the women asleep tells us a great deal of their musical training and accomplishments: one was clasping a *vīṇā*, another a *veṇu*, another a *nakula*, another *sughosa*, another *tūṇaka*, another a *vallaki*, and yet another a *paṇava*, etc.⁷⁴

The *Mahāvastu* refers to the musical accompaniment of the *apsarās*, of the playing of the pipes by the *kinnaris* at several places.⁷⁵ In all these references, singing is more important and the idea of the *pañcaganika tūryāni* recurs very many times. The word *tūrya* is used as a collective noun for an entire orchestra, consisting of all the five types of musical instruments, namely, *ātata*, *vitata*, *ātata-vitata*, *ghana* and *suṣira*.

Courtesans, such as Ambapālī and Sālavatī, are well-known in Buddhist legends: their fee for dancing was high,—the tradition of dancing and music in a classical form was preserved by them. They are known to be experts in singing, dancing and lute-playing.⁷⁶

The *Lalitavistara* lists many subjects to be studied: out of the eighty-six arts mentioned, four deal with music and dance: *vīṇā vādyanṛtyam*, *lāsyam* and *nāṭyam* are mentioned.⁷⁷ We see that *nṛtyam* or dancing with interpretation and *tāla* is coupled with instrumental music *vādyā*.

The *Lalitavistara*⁷⁸ also mentions the following musical instruments,—*vīṇā*, *veṇu*, *nakula*, *sughoṣa*, *tūṇava*, *candisaka*, *sanbharika*, a *mahatī vipaṇcikā* (a *vīṇā*)⁷⁹, *dhakka*, *paṭaka*, *vallaki*, *nukunda*, *paṇava*, *jharjharika*, *ālīṅgya* and *perivādini*. We find that the *Lalitavistara* mentions all the instruments listed by the *Mahāvastu* and a few more.

In the *Lalitavistara*, these arts are mentioned in other places. Gautama wants a wife well-versed in the arts: “I shall need the maiden who is accomplished in writing and in composing poetry, who is endowed with good qualities and well-versed in the rules of the *śāstras*.”⁸⁰

In the *Lalitavistara* dance and drama are mentioned elsewhere,—“In Rājagṛha, his disciples Maudgalāyana and Upatīṣya showed their dramatic skill in several exhibitions of spectacle and shows.” We also learn that, under the direction of Gautama (the Buddha), a drama was staged at Rājagṛha. Kauvalyā was at that time the most charming actress who had acquired great reputation in dramatics. As, however, she seduced some monks, she was transformed by Lord Buddha into a hideous woman.

These and other references found in the Buddhist legends leave no doubt in our minds about the widespread knowledge and practice of the arts. The sculptural evidence reinforces it strongly and Bharahut, Sāñci and Amaravati are the living testimonies to it.

Milinda Panha gives a list of the tradition, secular law, arithmetic, music and military art, but dance is conspicuously absent from this list.⁸¹

Very early in the history of Buddhism, the Buddhist monastic order had given up its highly antagonistic attitude towards the theatre and even went so far as to make use of the stage as a means of propaganda for the teachings of Buddhism: nor had the Buddhists any hesitation in allowing the Buddha to appear on the stage impersonated by the ordinary actor. The allegorical plays also became very common.

One of the palm-leaf Turfan manuscripts of the dramas of Aśvaghoṣa, discovered by Luder, contains a scene in which allegorical figures of wisdom, endurance and fame (*buddhī*, *dhṛtī* and *kīrti*) appear to glorify the Buddha.⁸²

From the *Avadānaśataka*⁸³ (*Avadāna* No. 75), we learn that a Buddha drama was enacted by the actors of the Deccan in the city of Śobhāvati at the bidding of Krakucanda in which the director himself appeared as the Buddha.

Prof. Sylvain Levi has also referred to another story found in the Kanhyur. An actor from the Deccan composed a drama containing the story of the Buddha up to his attainment of *Bodhi* and performed it before king Bimbisāra.⁸⁴

From *Takakusu's* account,⁸⁵ we learn that Harṣa had his drama *Nāgānanda* (based on the story of Bodhisattva Jimutavāhana surrendering himself in place of a Nāga) set to music and performed by a group; it was accompanied by dancing and acting. Harṣa also had Candradāsa's *Viśvāntara* and Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* versified and set to music and dancing.⁸⁶

Professional actors are mentioned throughout Sanskrit and Pāli literature, and from all these references a fairly accurate social history of the life of the actors can be re-created.⁸⁷

The evidence provided by these texts leads us to the conclusion that acting existed as a flourishing profession: dancing (*nṛtya*) was distinguished from the general and more popular art of dramatics and mime practised by the *naṭas*. The dances described in the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu* are the only references to the solo-classical dance we come across here.

Jaina Works

Dancing is frequently mentioned in the Jaina canons⁸⁸: the most important and significant for our purposes is the *Rāyapaseṇiya*. Thirty-two types of dances are mentioned. Their names indicate that they were dance dramas: only a few seem to be the names of pure dance numbers:

- (1) The first dance drama was presented to the accompaniment of orchestral music: it represented the eight symbols, *sotthiya* (*svastika*), *siri vaccha* (*śrīvatsa*), *naṇḍyāvatta* (*naṇḍyāvarta*), *vaddhamāṇaga* (*vardhamānaka*), *bhaddāsana* (*bhadrāsana*), *kalasa* (*pūrṇakalaśa*), *maccha* and *dappaṇa* (*darpaṇa*). This was like an auspicious prelude, an invocation.
- (2) In this dance-drama, other artistic motifs were represented through dance: *āvaḍa* (*āvarta*), *paccāvaḍa* (*pratyavarta*), *seḍhi* (*śreṇī*), *paseḍhi* (*praśreṇī*), *sotthiya* (*svastika*), *sovatthiya* (*sauvastika*), *pūsa*, *māṇava* (*puṣyamānaka*), *vaddhamāṇaga* (*vardhamānaka*), *machhaṇḍa* (*matsyāṇḍaka*), *magaraṇḍa* (*makarāṇḍaka*), *phullāvali* (*puṣpavālī*), *paumapatta* (*padma-patra*), *sāgaratarāṅga*, *vasantalatā* (*vasantalatā*), and *paumalayā* (*padma-latā*): this representation is called *bhakticitra*.
- (3) In this *bhakticitra*, the following were represented through *abhinaya*: *ihāmiga* (*ihāmṛga*), *usabha* (*vṛṣabha*), *turaga*, *nara*, *magara* (*makara*), *vihaga*, *vāлага* (*vyāla*), *kinnara*, *ruru*, *sarabha*, *camara*, *kuñjara*, *vaṇalayū* (*vanalatā*), and *paumalayā* (*padmalatā*).
- (4) In this variety, *abhinaya* is not predominant; instead, *nāṭya* and *nṛtya* are important. The terms mentioned here indicate dance formations of circles and *maṇḍalas*. *Egao vaṅka*, *egao cakkavāla*, *duhao cakkavāla*, *cak-kaddhacakkavāla*, all indicate circle formations—both single circle formations and concentric circle formations. Such circle formations and choreography are found in the Jaina sculptures of Gujarat.
- (5) The fifth variety is called *āvali* and various types of *āvalis* are represented: *candāvali* (*candrāvali*), *sūrāvali* (*sūryāvali*), *valiyāvali*, *haṁsāvali*, *egāvali* (*ekāvali*), *tārāvali*, *muttāvali* (*muktāvali*), *kaṇagāvali* (*kanakāvali*), *rayaṇāvali* (*ratnāvali*), etc.

The next three varieties represented the rising of the sun and the moon and other movements of these planets: these were surely short dance-dramas.

- (6) Here the rise of the sun and the moon were presented: the numbers are termed *suruggamaṇa* and *canduggamaṇa*.

- (7) The ascending movements of the sun and the moon are depicted in the dance-dramas known as *sūrāgamana* and *candāgamana*.
- (8) The solar or the lunar eclipse was portrayed in numbers known as *sūrāvaraṇa* and *candāvaraṇa*.
- (9) Finally, the dances of the setting of the sun and the moon were known as *sūratthamaṇa* (*sūryāstamana*) and *candatthamaṇa* (*candrāstamana*).
- (10) The *candamaṇḍala*, *sūramaṇḍala*, *nāgamaṇḍala*, *jakkhamaṇḍala* (*yakṣa*), *bhūtaṇḍala*, *rakkhasamaṇḍala*, *mahoragamaṇḍala* and *gandharvamaṇḍala*: all denote group formations of divine and evil beings.
- (11) The next variety depicted different types of gaits: *ṛṣabhalalita*, *siṃhalalita*, *hayavilambiya*, *gajavilambiya*, *hayavilasiya*, *gayavilasiya*, *mattagajavilasiya*, *mattahayavilasiya*, *mattagajavilambiya*, *mattahayavilambiya*: the whole sequence was called the *druta-vilambita* dance.
- (12) Another variety presented dances known as *sāgarapavibhatti* and *nāgarapavibhatti*.
- (13) A drama named after two creepers called Nandā and Campā is the thirteenth variety.
- (14) In the next variety were the dances known as *macchaṇḍa-pavibhatti*, *mayaraṇḍakapavibhatti*, *jārapavibhatti* and *mārapavibhatti*.
- (15) Letters from 'ka' to 'na', i.e., *kavarga*, were represented through movement. The dance sequence was termed as '*kavarga*'.
- (16) Another dance sequence was named after '*cavarga*'.
- (17) Similarly another represented '*ṭavarga*'.
- (18) And another represented the '*tavarga*'.
- (19) And yet another took its name after the '*pavarga*'.
- (20) A dance sequence represented the different types of leaves, namely: *asoyapallava* (*aśokapallava*), *ambapallava* (*āmra*), *jambupallava*, *kośambapallava*.
- (21) Another variety showed the *pravibhaktis* (movements) of the following

creepers: *paumalayā* (*padmalatā*), *nāgalatā*, *asogalatā* (*aśokalatā*), *campakalatā*, *amba* (*amralatā*), *vanalatā*, *vāsantī*, *kundalatā*, *atimuttaya* (*atimuktalatā*) and *śāmalayā* (*śyāmalatā*).

The next ten varieties were *nṛtya* performances; the names suggest the types of dance, and their characteristics are indicated by words such as *druta*, *vilambita*, mostly indicating tempo.

(22) *Druta nṛtya*

(23) *Vilambita nṛtya*

(24) *Druta vilambita nṛtya*

(25) *Añciya* (*añcita*) *nṛtya*

(26) *Ribhita nṛtya*

(27) *Añcita-ribhita nṛtya*

(28) *Arabhada* (*ārabhaṭa*) *nṛtya*

(29) *Bhasola nṛtya*

(30) *Ārbhada-bhasola nṛtya* or *ārbhada-bhesda nṛtya*

(31) *Uppayanivayapavatta* (*utpāta* and *nitpāta*), *saṅkunciya* (*saṅkucita*), *pasāriya* (*prasārita*), *rayāraiya* (*khecarita*), *bhānta* (*bhrānta*) and *sambhānta* (*sambhrānta*) *nṛtya*

(32) This drama depicted the story of Mahāvira's early life, his conception, exchange of foetus, birth, boyhood, youth, renunciation, attainment of *kevala*-hood (*kaivalya-jñāna*), the propagation of his message, and his *nirvāṇa*.⁸⁹

From the above we gather some very interesting details about the types of dances and the vast repertoire of the dance compositions. In these thirty-two categories, we have *abhinaya*, *nṛtya*, *nāṭya* and *nṛtta* proper. Many of these terms do not seem to indicate complete dance-dramas, as has been suggested. The first variety is merely the representation of the auspicious symbols (*māṅgalika*): it could have been done by showing all these *māṅgalika* symbols through *hastābhinaya* or by making different actors represent the different symbols: the second variety seems to suggest dance formations, as also names of themes on which dances were com-

posed, such as the *phullāvali* and *vasantalatā*: the terms *vardhamānaka* and *padma latā* seem to have nothing in common with Bharata's use of the same terms. The third variety similarly suggests names of animals, *kinnaras*, etc., on which the dance was based and no more. The fourth variety alone gives us some idea of the nature of the dance: the circle formations are quite clearly indicated, and the names suggest pure dance (*nṛtta*). The sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth varieties suggest a complete dance-drama based on the movement of the sun and the moon, and the tenth suggests circle formations and dance compositions to represent planets, supernatural beings and the rest. In spite of the fact that the word *maṇḍala* is used, they have nothing at all in common with the *maṇḍalas* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.⁹⁰ The same is true of the eleventh variety where the gaits of various animals like the horse, elephant, etc., are represented. Even though the *Nāṭyaśāstra* talks of the representation of the gaits of the animals (*NŚ*, XII. 107 ff.), it is not in the same sense. In the *Rāyapaseṇiya* the walking, prancing and jumping of the *gaja* and *haya* are described, and all these are represented in both the *druta* and the *vilambita* tempo. The twenty-second, twenty-third and twenty-fourth varieties also indicate just *laya* and not specific dances. The *añcita* is not a dance of any specific kind and this term might indicate anything from the *añcita* gesture of any part of the body, from the head to the foot, to the *añcita karaṇa* (*NŚ*, IV. 84), and *bhramara* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* can hardly be identified with the present *bhasola*.⁹¹

The evidence in the text is interesting, but obscure; the names of the dances give some clue but the dances cannot be re-created from these descriptions. The author was not basing the list on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. If the terms contained here are technical, then they most certainly belong to a tradition of the classical dance other than the *Nāṭyaśāstra* tradition. If the terms are descriptive of the theme and the execution, then it is not a technical enumeration, but only a literary one. Scholars of Jaina literature could perhaps throw more light on them than has hitherto been done. We may only conclude here that the present classification does not base itself on the classification and terminology of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. However, some connexions can be established between this tradition and that of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. A few terms and concepts are common. If an attempt is made to translate these terms into the language of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, then perhaps one can say that numbers one, two and three belong to the *pūrva-raṅga*; numbers four, five and ten describe formation; six, seven, eight and nine belong to the variety of *nṛtya* where the circular formations plus some *abhinaya* is suggested. Eleven shows the gaits (*cārīs*) of various kinds. Numbers twelve to twenty-one are small *bhāva* representations, whether the usual representation of the alphabet or some small episodes. One could also reasonably conclude that numbers fourteen to twenty were *viniyogas* of *samyuta hastas*. Numbers twenty-one to thirty-two belong to the *nṛtta* variety and where the nomenclature denotes the tempo (*laya*) used, the dance poses formed, the exact variety and character of the dance and the choreographical patterns.⁹²

Besides the thirty-two dances mentioned above, the Jaina texts mention various types of musical instruments.⁹³ Of the sixty-four varieties mentioned here, very few are new: they are all classified under the categories of *tata*, *vitata*, *ānaddha* and *ghana* instruments.

Generally, music and dancing are referred to at several places, and festival dances are mentioned throughout the text. Courtesans accomplished in the arts of music and dancing are also mentioned in the Jaina texts. The *Vayadhammakahā* refers to a rich courtesan (*gaṇikā*), Campā. Famous courtesans adept in the arts are Kośa, Upakośa, Devadatta, etc. They are mentioned in the *Bṛhatkalpa*, the *Bhagavati*, etc. The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* also mentions *naṭṭiya* (dancing girls) apart from *gaṇikās*.⁹⁴

The Jaina texts on the whole are a very rich source of knowing the social status of artists, the ways in which some of the original characteristics of the arts were being modified; but we find very little technical reference which adheres strictly to the tradition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

KĀVYA LITERATURE

From the *kāvya* literature we obtain a clear picture of the classical dance. The descriptions of and references to dancing in this literature are, however, not on the same plane as in the *Vedas* and the epics. The Vedic writer was conscious of its movements and was sensitive to its beauties. The writers of the epics used the technical terminology for the first time. The authors of the *kāvyas* are aware of the rich heritage and are also fully conversant with the codification made in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The description of dance in these works are seldom those of a layman; instead, they suggest a discerning eye and an acquaintance with the technique of the classical dance. It must be remembered that the tradition which resulted in the codification of the arts in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* was a tradition which considered dance and poetry not as members of the same family but as limbs of the same human form. In drama (*drśya-kāvya*), thus, we find a body of stage technique which is none other than the *āṅgikābhinaya* of the classical Indian dance. In subject-matter, in themes and in fundamental philosophic concepts, the writer of the *kāvya* literature continues to follow the Vedic and the Epic tradition. The characters he chooses are supernatural beings: they are either the gods of the earlier pantheon with modified attributes or the heroes akin to those of the epics. The *apsarās* and the *gaṇikās* appear on the same stage with gods and heroes who contract friendships with these supernatural or half-supernatural beings: seldom do they appear as the instruments of Fate or Nemesis of the Greek drama. The supreme god that the classical writer invokes thus is Śiva whose Cosmic Dance symbolizes the activity of the universe in its manifold aspects.

The philosophic and metaphysical assumptions underlying this drama give it a technique which can be clearly distinguished from the drama of the West. The writer sees no intellectual conflict, moral or social. The ideas of sin, incest, etc., never form a motif. Moral flaws play little or no part at all: the state of Beauty is one, which is to be achieved through a state of Being, of emotion, of feeling, rather than one of thought and suffering. The total absence of conflict, of the development and growth of character through external and internal suffering, invariably results in the absence of 'action' in the Aristotelian sense: there is never the impression of 'Man's answer to Fate that crushes him' and 'gods who kill us for their sport', but, instead, there is an impression of Heaven and the gods descending upon earth to sport joyously with human beings. The characters of this drama are differently conceived and the 'action' that occurs is not on the level of certain values counterpoised against certain other values. The vehicle of expression of this thought-process is naturally very different, and we must not look in it for the values of Western drama, nor must this drama be judged by those standards. The state of 'being', of 'emotion', that the Indian classical writers seek to portray can best be expressed in terms of lyricism, and, what is more, in terms of human movement—an instrument of expression already made available through the ritualistic, religious and social practices of the earlier period. 'Dance' or *abhinaya* enters into the body of this drama, not as an intruder or an interloper, not to amuse the audience while the 'main action' of the plot of the drama is held up; it is on the contrary an integral part of the drama and anyone who sees classical Sanskrit drama as just the spoken word does injustice to himself by missing the subtle beauties of its elaborate stage-craft. The inclusion of *āṅgikābhinaya* in this drama is so completely integrated with the spoken language (*vācīkābhinaya*) that, devoid of it, Sanskrit drama becomes no more than a chain of beautiful lyrics. The easy flow of this drama is achieved through dance movement, through the ability of the artist to carry us across seas, oceans and mountains, to bring before us visions of lions, deers and horses, to invoke thunder and lightning not only through the spoken word but also through a well-formulated language of gesture or pantomime. The total impression of this drama, then, is like that of total theatre in the modern sense, or more truly, of dance-drama with song, spoken word, and gesture—all combined. It is not drama embellished with song, diction, dance, etc., but drama constituted by song, dance (inclusive of *nṛtta* and *abhinaya*), gesture, etc. Instead of the powerful intellectual impact of western drama we have here an initiation into a 'state of being' created by a swift, fluent, light-footed quality of highly cultivated feeling.

The basic approach of this drama is 'idealistic': an elaborate stage convention (*nāṭyadharmī*), meticulous to the last detail, dispenses with the need of realistic presentation (*lokadharmī*) or portraiture. While analyzing the stage directions of this drama, we shall observe how the principle of *nāṭyadharmī* works and how far the gesture language is an instrument in executing this aim. The characters, as mentioned earlier, are beings who can easily be carried into the supernatural world

with the slightest touch of the imaginative wand: the heroines are invariably the *apsarās* or the *gaṇikās*, always adept in the art of dancing. Śakuntalā is the daughter of the celestial Menakā, Urvaśī, the finest of dancers, Mālavikā, a princess trained flawlessly in the art, and Vasantasenā is a courtesan, dancer par excellence of the town. It is obvious that the actors who depicted these heroes and heroines, who are accomplished dancers, must have been masters of the four types of *abhinaya*, since lack of training in either *āṅgika* or *vācikābhinaya* would have proved fatal to the performance.

Characters in Sanskrit drama and narrative poetry witness dances and dance-dramas like their predecessors in the *Vedas* and the epics. The description of dance recitals in the Sanskrit *kāvya* is, usually, in highly technical terms; physical movement more often than not uses the phraseology of Bharata. Before, therefore, analyzing and commenting on such portions of these dramas which are *āṅgikābhinaya* and almost indistinguishable from the *abhinaya* of the contemporary classical dance, it would be profitable to look at the descriptions of such dance recitals in both the *kāvya* and the *nāṭya* literatures. We shall first enumerate the non-technical and then the technical⁹⁵ references in the *kāvya* and the *nāṭya* literatures. From an examination of this evidence a fairly clear picture of the dance and the dance styles as prevalent then will emerge.

The *Kāvyas*

Buddhacarita

In the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa, we have the first evidence of the technical language of the dance. It is still in a rather unrefined stage, but there is an obvious trend towards the stylized dance of the later days. The poet gives us vivid descriptions of facial expressions, of a few *hastas* (*mudrās*), and a long list of musical instruments. Sometimes the terms are used merely descriptively and not in a technical sense.

The musical instruments referred to in the palace are:

- Tūrya*— (I. 45; II. 29)
- Mṛdaṅga*—(I. 45; II. 30; V. 50)
- Viṇā*— (I. 45; V. 48)
- Mukunda*—(I. 45)
- Muraja*— (I. 45)
- Veṇu*— (V. 49)
- Varṇśī*—
- Dundubhi*— } (VIII. 53)

Later the Buddha himself listens to the splendid musical instruments (Canto II. 29). The *tūrya* is mentioned again and in Canto II. 30 we find that the *mṛdaṅga*

is ornamented with golden bands (*cāmīkarabuddha kakṣaiḥ*) and is played by women 'with the foreparts of the hands' (*nārīkarāgrabhirāhataiḥ*). The ladies of the palace hold different musical instruments in their laps: the Bodhisattva watches them thus and then walks out of the palace.⁹⁶ Later Gautamī while waiting, compares the voice of the Buddha to the musical sound of the thundering clouds (*ghana dundubhi*) (VIII. 53).

Aśvaghoṣa describes vividly some movements of the women: the ladies of the palace allure the prince by their talk and amorous gestures (*lalita bhāva*); their eyebrows are arched (*bhruvañcitaiḥ*) and they cast on him half-shut, half-stolen glances (II. 31). None of these words is used in the technical meaning given to them by the *Nāṭyaśāstra*; *lalita bhāva*⁹⁷ does not occur in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* but the *lalita* glance (*dṛṣṭi*) is used for love (*NŚ*, VIII. 74). Similarly, *añcita bhrū* does not occur in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, but it is related to the two movements of the eyebrow, viz., both *kuñcita* and *recita* (*NŚ*, VIII. 122-123a), the latter being used specially for amorousness. The side-long glance (*ardha nirīkṣita*) finds no equivalent in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, but the commentary⁹⁸ explains it as *kaṭākṣa*. The *kaṭākṣa* so frequently mentioned in Sanskrit literature, is in reality a movement of the eyeball and the name for it in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is *vivartana* (turning the eyeballs sideways, a movement used in expressing the erotic sentiment) (*NŚ*, VIII. 98b-100a).

Again in Canto IV. 2, we observe that, when the prince is taken out to the grove and women come out to greet him, there is wonder in the eyes of women (*vismayotphulla*⁹⁹ *locanāḥ*) and they pay him homage with *padmakōśa* hands.

The *vismita* glance of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* used on such occasions is also not very different (*NŚ*, VIII. 60); but the first appearance of a real *hastābhinaya* term besides the *añjali* which is found earlier, too, is the *padmakōśa hasta*. According to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, this *asamyukta hasta* is employed to represent offering *pūjā* to a deity, carrying a casket, etc. (*NŚ*, IX. 82). These women then try and charm the prince not only with their natural grace but also with their accomplishments in music and dance: one of them looks at him and then sings a song with *abhinaya* (*sābhūṇayagītam*) (IV. 37). The *āṅgikābhinaya* is quite clearly suggested: the song is the *vācīkābhinaya* to the accompaniment of which she must have performed the *āṅgikābhinaya*, perhaps, as it is done in the contemporary *Bharatanāṭyam padams*. Earlier, in the palace, women had entertained him with *nṛtta* proper, for then the accompaniment was not song, but drums (*mṛdaṅga*) played by the soft fingers of women; their dances were like those of the heavenly nymphs and the palace of the king shone like mount Kailāśa (II. 30).

This beautiful dancing of women in the palace and the mango-grove is soon replaced by the odious dancing of Māra and his retinue: now the dancing is no longer *lalita*, nor are the glances *lalita* and *prekṣita* (*NŚ*, VIII. 90-92) and the

eyebrows are not *recita*; instead, there is the *bhrkuṭi*, which is used for dazzling light and for objects of anger (*NŚ*, VIII. 123b-126) (*Buddhacarita*, XIII. 25). The dancing itself is done with weapons such as the trident, and thus the whole atmosphere changes. Both types of dancing, with their different implications and impressions, are depicted here. It is not rarely that the Sanskrit poet utilizes the different styles of dancing to depict different moods, states of mind and feelings.

Kālidāsa

The evidence of dance and music obtained from Kālidāsa's works is overwhelming. Kālidāsa's knowledge of the technique of *nṛtya* and *saṅgīta* is no less than his skill in poetry: his sensitivity to the movements of the dancer is indeed so great that he constantly describes natural phenomena in terms of dance movements.

From the *kāvya*s we can gather references, both general and technical. While these descriptions are on a different level from those found in his dramas, we observe that in these, too, he displays an intimate knowledge of the art of dancing. These references can help us reconstruct certain aspects of dance. We have in his works references to social dancing, the dance of the courtesan and dancing in education. All these references tell us of the prevalence of the Bharata's phraseology as well as of various styles of dancing.

Raghuvamśa

In the *Raghuvamśa*, on the occasion of Raghu's birth (III. 19), everyone rejoices and the courtesans dance. The joy of this occasion spreads to the heaven itself. Here we have two significant words: *maṅgalatūrya* (the *tūrya* is the herald of auspicious occasions) and *pramoda nṛtya*, i.e., delightful dancing.

The *apsarās* are here truly the temptresses of the sages. Indra sends five *apsarās* to ṛṣi Sātakarṇi to tempt him with music and dancing. Now and again Indra makes them dance for him; they sing and play on the *mṛdaṅga* (XII. 40). The *apsarās* who come to entice ṛṣi Sutikṣṇa, however, employ other methods: theirs is the method of glances, of physical grace called *vibhrama*¹⁰⁰ (XII. 42) which is inclusive of gesture, speech, dress, make-up and the rest. The voluptuary, King Agnivarṇa, has in his court music and dancing of every kind. The women of his court woo him, attract him and allure him: they are trained dancers and courtesans who seek the love of the king. Canto XIX of the *Raghuvamśa* is an elaborate description of their performances. The king's palace resounded with the sounds of the *mṛdaṅga* (*mṛdaṅganādiṣū*, XIX. 5) and he spent all his time in festivity of this kind.¹⁰¹ Here we find that the *nartakī*, the professional dancer, is an important member of the society.

Besides the court dancer, we also find that dancing is an essential part of the

education of kings and queens. Indumatī, Aja's beautiful queen, is mourned by the king in an exquisite verse in which he calls her 'his wife, his comrade, his confidante' and, above all, 'his dear pupil in the fine arts' (VIII. 67). In the Raghu dynasty, dancing is an essential part of royal education, but music and dancing cease to have a place in Ayodhyā¹⁰² in Kuśsa's reign. Later, he re-establishes Ayodhyā as his capital and re-initiates the water sports. The enchanting sound fills the ears, the sound of women singing and the water *mṛdaṅga* (*vāri-mṛdaṅga*) accompanying, which the peacocks on the banks hail with their outspread plumage.¹⁰³ Agnivarṇa, however, is the lover, the teacher of the graceful dance.

But it is not only the graceful dance that we see. In the fight of Aja with his opponents, we are told of a dance of death, where the killed heroes of the battle watch their own trunks dancing in the battle field. A wilder type of dance must have been known to the poet for him to describe this dance (*Raghuvamśa*, VII. 51).

Kumārasambhava

The *Kumārasambhava* has for its hero the creator and originator of the dance. Naturally, there is a mention of the *sukumāra* dance of Pārvatī, the graceful *abhinaya* of the trees, etc., the dance of the peacocks, as also the grotesque dance of Bhṛngī on the occasion of the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī (IX. 48). Kālikā dances with a garland of skulls for the couple (IX. 49). Pārvatī describes the dance of the Lord to the *Brahmacārī* who enters into conversation with her: 'his ashes shed as he dances'; she uses the phrase *nṛtyābhinaya kriyā* rather than *tāṇḍava*, the usual description (V. 79).

The graceful dancing of the earlier cantos of the *Kumārasambhava* is replaced in the later cantos by the dance of swords and men and decapitated trunks in the context of Kārtikeya's fight with the demon Tārakāsura (XVI. 48-49). The swords covered with blood dance like lightning in the battle field (XVI. 15), and soon there is nothing but the dance of headless trunks of soldiers which the spirits of the soldiers watch from above.

Meghadūta and *Ṛtusamhāra*

In the *Meghadūta* and the *Ṛtusamhāra*, Kālidāsa's similes invariably use the image of the dance. As the moods change in the *Ṛtusamhāra*, the types of physical movement also change. The peacock is the supreme symbol of the simple joy in life,¹⁰¹ and its dancing gives us significant details about dancing. In the *Meghadūta*, the women of Ujjain dance (*Pūrva Megha*, 40), the women of Alakāpurī are exceedingly graceful (*Uttara Megha*, 2), and the peacocks dance to the sound of thunder. The pictures Kālidāsa draws for us in these verses are richly infused with the language of *abhinaya* of the dance. His women are invariably the *nāyikās* of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, their movements are the *āṅgika* and *sāttvikābhinaya* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and there is hardly a description of movement, facial

or otherwise, which is in a non-technical language. Through his similes, too, we have a glimpse of the nature and character of the classical dance and in all of them we can see a beautiful picture of the dance and its styles. The following evidence of such references will throw considerable light on both the dance of the day and Kālidāsa's knowledge of it.

In the *Ṛtusamhāra*, in the rainy season, the entire forest rejoices. The branches of trees dance as if gesticulating with their hands (II. 24). Here the word *sūcibhiḥ* is important for our purpose: it occurs again in *Mālavikāgnimitra* where the dance of Mālavikā is described. Bharata defines *sūcī abhinaya* as that in which the meaning of the sentence or song is indicated first by gesticulation and then by words (*NS*, *Kāvya-mālā*, 1894 edition, XXII. 43). But in the *Ṛtusamhāra*, Kālidāsa refers to the *asamyukta hasta sūcī*.

Later the wind personified (*pavana*) makes the trees dance and wave about (*lāsakapādapānām*) (*RS*, II. 27); *lāsaka* is not a technical term here but we may recall that it is one of the names of Śiva in the dancing *mudrā*.¹⁰⁵ The dance here is of the feet and not of the hands and is obviously of the *nṛtta* variety.

In the *Raghuvamśa* creepers are compared to the gesticulating fingers of a dancer (IX. 35), the humming of bees is their music and they dance to it, keeping time, as it were, by clapping their hands. (*Kisalayaḥ salayaḥ pāṇibhiḥ*): the branches of the mango trees, too, wave as if they had just started to learn *abhinaya* (IX.53). In the former case, we have a very clear indication of *gīta*, *vādyā* and *nṛtya* and the hands move gracefully to this music. In the latter case, it is not dancing but *abhinaya*: the mango branches respond spontaneously to the touch of the *malaya* breeze.

In the *Meghadūta* it is *nṛtta* that the cloud-messenger will see. The women of Ujjain will be practising dance; to them the cloud will bring a few drops of rain and they will respond with appreciative glances. Here *padanyāsaiḥ* refers to dancing in which foot-work predominates. The *kaṭākṣa* with which they will look at the cloud is the *vivartana* (side-long) movement of the eyeball.¹⁰⁶ The cloud is then not only to watch the *nṛtta* of Śiva in the evening (*Pūrva Megha*, 40), but is to become itself an accompanist to this evening dance by contributing his own thunder. This thunder will be the drum (*muraja*) to which the Lord will dance:¹⁰⁷ thus the orchestra will be complete, for the rustling of the wind through the bamboos will be the instrumental music and the song of *kinnaris* and women, the vocal accompaniment. The sustained simile makes it clear that both instrumental, and vocal music, set to the rhythm of a percussion instrument, was considered the essential accompaniment to this dance (*Pūrva Megha*, 60). The sound of the thundering cloud is always the *muraja* drum, the accompaniment to *saṅgīta*: in Alakāpuri the *muraja* sounds to music (*Uttara Megha*, 1).¹⁰⁸

The Yakṣa's beloved makes the peacock dance while she beats time for him (*tāla*) (*UM*, 19): the idea of rhythm is very firmly established by this time, and we get frequent references to clapping and beating time with the hands.

Agnivārṇa accompanying the maidens also beats time to the *abhinaya* of the court dancers when he plays the *puṣkara*; then they forget their *abhinaya* and perhaps *tāla*, too (*Raghuvamśa*, XIX. 12).

The *apsarās* in the *Kumārasambhava*, however, do not dance to the *mṛdaṅga* but to three other instruments of the *tūrya* type: the *aṅkya*, the *āliṅga* and the *ūrdhvaka* (XI. 36). Their recital is complete with song and instrumental music; and *rasa* and *bhāva* are perfectly represented. Their dance has a beautiful, well-planned sequence and words such as *susandhi*, *rasa* and *bhāva* tell us of the perfectly executed dance.

From these *kāvya*s we get an idea also of the qualities of this dance. The dance primarily as performance, as *prayoga*, is the accepted conception: rigorous practice is considered an essential feature of the art. In the *Rtusamhāra*, Kāmadeva leaves the peacocks to go to the swans: the peacocks he leaves are those who have given up their practice of the dance (*nṛtyaprayoga-rahitā*).

In the *Raghuvamśa*, Agnivārṇa is called *prayoganipuṇa*¹⁰⁹ and he teaches the three types of *abhinaya* to the girls, viz., *āṅgika*, *sāttvika* and *vācika*. He makes them practise endlessly till they are exhausted and sweating (XIX. 36).¹¹⁰ His favourite are the dances in *kaiśiki vṛtti*.¹¹¹

When Śiva and Pārvatī are married (in the *Kumārasambhava*), Sarasvatī sings praises of the divine couple; and thereafter, they witness a drama, complete with different junctures (*sandhīs*), styles (*vṛttis*), *rāgas* set in the appropriate *rasa* (*Kumārasambhava*, VIII. 91), and *aṅgahāras* appropriate to the *śṛṅgāra rasa* (*lalita*). Even if this passage is not penned by Kālidāsa, as some contend, whoever wrote it was fully aware of the aesthetic beauties of the art, as also the theoretical terms of Bharata. The theatrical production is here called *prayoga*.¹¹² Thus in one verse we have the terms, *prayoga*, *sandhī*, the displayed styles (*vṛttis*), the well-composed *rāgas* (*pratibaddha rāgam*), dance movements (*aṅgahāra*)¹¹³ described as of the graceful type (*lalita*). The prevalence of these terms, and their acceptance in the technique, is evident.

Besides these Kālidāsa mentions the different *hastas*: the descriptions of women abound in details of facial expression and, frequently, the different types of *nāyikās* are mentioned in his works.

Añjali is the most common *saṁyukta hasta* mentioned in literature. We have seen it occur both in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.

In the *Kumārasambhava* Śiva comes to tempt Pārvatī, disguised as a *Brahma-cārī*. She is adamant and chooses to ignore him first but then answers with the rosary in her *mukulīkṛta* hands (V. 63). *Mukula* is Bharata's *asamyukta hasta* (*NŚ*, IX. 117) where 'the fingers bent and close to each other meet': it is used 'for worshipping a deity, a lotus bud, etc.' (*NŚ*, IX. 118 ff.). Kālidāsa has thus punctiliously described the way in which Pārvatī held the rosary. Elsewhere, names of the *samyukta hastas*, *samputa*, *karkaṭa* and *kapota* often occur both in their literal and in their technical senses. The great prevalence of these terms, as also the frequent play upon them, show their popularity. The average reader and spectator obviously grasped their meanings, technical as well as literal.¹¹⁴

The grace of women is Kālidāsa's favourite theme, and we find him engrossed in their beauty. Pārvatī is taught her gait by the royal swans themselves and they are anxious to learn from her the sweet sounds of her anklets¹¹⁵ (I. 34). Her training in beautiful gait, her natural grace of *vilāsa* and her *vilola* (the loving glance)—she gives up during her penance; then she renounces everything, including the natural *alaṅkāras* of women (*NŚ*, *Kāvya-mālā*, 1894 edition, XXII. 14).

But this Pārvatī, who has given up all emotion and gesticulation, is roused to anger at the approaches of the disguised Śiva: her lips quiver, her eyes grow red, and her eyebrows become arched in *kuñcita*. Here we have an interesting example of Kālidāsa's divergence from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, for in the text the *kuñcita* eyebrows movement is used for the manifestation of affection, while the *kuñcita* eyelid movement is prescribed when the object seen is unwanted or unwelcome. Kālidāsa talks of the *kuñcita bhrū* (eyebrow) rather than the *kuñcita* eyelid (*NŚ*, VIII. 114b-118b and VIII. 123b-126).

Princess Indumati is the other paragon of beauty in Kālidāsa. She is the much desired woman and kings and princes of all lands come to woo her. In a mildly satirical tone Kālidāsa describes their movements: one of them employs *śṛṅgāra* movements (*śṛṅgāra ceṣṭā*) (*Raghuvamśa*, VI. 12), the other uses the lotus as a symbol to tell her of his love (ibid., VI. 13) and a third one bends his body obliquely (*sācīkṛta*) to adjust his shawl. In nearly ten verses Kālidāsa describes these ludicrous movements of the princes, studiously avoiding the use of a single technical dance term: doubtless, his intention is to suggest obliquely that none of them was an accomplished dancer. Kālidāsa's avoidance of the use of the technical knowledge at his command is with a specific aim. It is suggestive of the fact that the discriminating reader or theatre-goer was familiar with Bharata's terminology and that the absence of technically correct or prescribed movements would arouse laughter.

The eyebrows and their movement form an important part of the description of facial expressions: thus the women of Ujjain have large eyes (*cakita netra*) and

through graceful movements they allure the cloud-messenger (*Pūrva Megha*, 29). They are unlike the women described earlier (ibid., 16), who do not know how to use their eyebrows for amorous purposes (*bhrū vilāsa*). The cloud can have a drink from the river Vetravatī: she is compared to a woman with beautiful, attractive eyebrows (*Pūrva Megha*, 26). The maidens of Daśapura have dark eyebrows (*Pūrva Megha*, 51). The favourites of Agnivarṇa are of course adept in the use of eyebrows (*Raghuvamśa*, XIX. 17).

The *bhrkuṭi* and the *katākṣa* are two very common movements: the first is an eyebrow movement and the second an eyeball movement.

The *nāyikās* are mentioned in a beautiful description of the spring in Canto IX of the *Raghuvamśa*: the cuckoo is like the *mughdā vadhu* and the night is the *khaṇḍitā nāyikā*.¹¹⁶ The *nāyikās* appear amongst the ladies of Agnivarṇa's court in the *Raghuvamśa*: each one of the dancers described above comes like one or other of the *nāyikās* and is loved by him in turn: one comes as the *vipralabdhā nāyikā* (ibid., XIX. 18), another as a *khaṇḍitā nāyikā*; all of them are taught the three types of *abhinaya*, which they are made to perform before the *gurus* of dancing (ibid., XIX. 36).

From these *kāvyas* emerges a picture of the arts of music and dancing, which knows orchestration of various kinds and conceives dancing as both *nṛtta* and *abhinaya*. It also tells us that dance was considered as an essential part of education for all and that it demanded regular practice and performance (*prayoga*). The art enjoys high prestige in contemporary society, though libertines like King Agnivarṇa may debase it by their irresponsibility and moral laxness.

Bhāravi

In Bhāravi's (7th century A.D.) *Kirātārjunīyam* we find very little evidence useful for our purpose. The women here have *klānta* eyes (*klānta vilocana*):¹¹⁷ the *gaṇikās* try to tempt Arjuna with their dance (IV. 17). But Arjuna is not tempted by this dancing, which is called *abhiprayanṛtta* and which has both gesticulation and *nṛtta* in it. At another place, the lotuses dance (as in the *Raghuvamśa*): the simile here is elaborate, for the dance that the lotuses perform is complete with the movements of eyebrows and the gait (*bhrūkuṭi kuṭila*). The wind (*vāyu*) is the instigator of the dance, for its movement makes the lotuses do the *vilāsaśāli nṛtya*, the beautiful amorous dance (V. 32).

The women who bathe in the Gaṅgā are aroused by the sound of the *mṛdaṅga* at a distance: their bosoms tremble as if dancing in *tāla* to the *mṛdaṅga*. Their dance is the beautiful *manorama nṛtya* (VIII. 43).

The *gandharvas* play the *viṇā* (*vallaki*) and the *mṛdaṅga* (X. 18) and show

the six seasons simultaneously while the *apsarās* get ready to allure and entice Arjuna. Their efforts fail and they call for Vasanta to help them. Vasantalakṣmī descends holding the new sprouts of trees: the hummings of bees are the anklets (*nūpura*), which herald her steps.

The dance appears in its full glory only once, when the *apsarās* come to display their talents before Arjuna. They commence their *abhinaya* according to the rules, but their hands, adorned with beautiful fingers fit for *abhinaya*, and their eyes, which should move with the movements of the limbs, forget their discipline the moment they set eyes on Arjuna (X. 41).¹¹⁸ We have here a dance of the hands, of the feet, of the eyes that move in accordance with the rule, 'the eyes follow the hand', and in the dance all these limbs move in accordance with rules of the presentation of a particular *rasa* and *bhāva*. In a short and simple verse, we have thus a beautiful description of both the aim and technique of the art. Looking at Arjuna, the *apsarās* forget the use of their limbs and err against many rules. These *apsarās* are called dancers (*nartakī*), those who are particular about *abhinaya* (*abhinayamanasaḥ*) (X. 43) and those who are accomplished in the graces (*lalitābhinaya*). They portray different *nāyikās* also.

Besides this there is little of value to the present study in the *Kirātārjunīyam*. Even the verses referred to do not tell us anything new or extraordinary.

Daṇḍin

Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracaritam* is a work different from the poetry of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi. From this prose work we get some very interesting material on the education of princes and the social status of *ganikās*.

The young princes were taught arts and crafts of various kinds: ritual, astronomy, literature, horse riding, and the arts of music, dancing, instrumental music (*Pūrva-piṭhikā*, I. 80). *Nṛtya* is not mentioned here, but *vīṇā*, *saṅgīta* and *sāhitya* are. At another place, queen Kalpasundarī, 'who is herself well-versed in the arts of music and dancing' (III. 10) wishes for a young man who will be perfect in all the arts and will be a painter (*Uttarapiṭhikā*, III. 12).

Nartakīs and *ganikās* abound in this work. We have the famous Kāmamañjarī (*Uttarapiṭhikā*, II. 4 ff.) whose mother gives a long list of the subjects in which a courtesan must be perfect. Rāgamañjarī, the sister of Kāmamañjarī, presents a dance recital in the assembly of learned men of the court (*Uttarapiṭhikā*, II. 30). Vikata Varma, the husband of Kalpasundarī, is an ignoramus, who knows nothing, is not acquainted with the sixty-four arts or with drama, is a liar, and is not faithful to his wife: he falls in love with a dancer called Ramayantikā (*Uttarapiṭhikā*, III. 15).

The mother of Kāmamañjarī and Rāgamañjarī is a teacher of the courtesans, and in her list she enumerates the *Kāmaśāstra* (*anaṅgavidyā*), *nṛtya*, *gīta*, *vādyā*, *nāṭya*, *citrakalā* and the rest. A courtesan must know *abhinaya* and the mother of a courtesan must see to it that she is separated from her father after the fifth year of her birth (*Uttarapīṭhikā*, II. 6). Kāmamañjarī goes to a sage for refuge¹¹⁹ and the mother arrives to say that her only fault has been that she has taught her daughter all the arts of a courtesan. From her statement we learn not only of the arts that a courtesan must know but also the mental attitude she must have if she is to succeed in her profession. Later she laments the waste that her education has been on the second daughter Rāgamañjarī. The latter does not wish to sell herself for money, and wishes to get married. Her mother, Mādhavasenā, and her sister, Kāmamañjarī, both go to the king and plead before him, “she who was our hope, and whom we have taught all the arts, is today wanting to renounce the duties of a courtesan and to become a woman of the family (*kulāṅganā*)”¹²⁰.

Rāgamañjarī is a woman of rare accomplishments. we have a description of a performance by her which citizens gather to look at with great expectations. She dances in a gathering called the *pañcavīra goṣṭhi*.¹²¹ She is accompanied by both song and instrumental music and the stage on which she dances is called the *raṅgapīṭha*. Her dance, perfect in *bhāva* and *rasa*, is so impressive that the spectator’s heart becomes another stage full of the emotions of love (*Uttarapīṭhikā*, II. 39). She dances with all her limbs (*upāṅgas*), her eyebrows are *recita*¹²² and her *dṛṣṭi* is *vibhrama* (*NŚ*, VIII. 93 ff.). With these movements she captures the hearts and eyes of the spectators

The *ganikās* formed an important part of the society of our country for ages. As we go along, we see how well and sometimes how shabbily they were treated by society.

Bāna

It is not till we come to the works of Bāna that we find a detailed description of the technique of dancing. Both in the *Harṣacarita*¹²³ and the *Kādambarī* there are vivid descriptions of the music and the dance of the time.

Harṣacarita

The *Harṣacarita* mentions five types of *goṣṭhīs*: *kāvyagoṣṭhī*, *galpagoṣṭhī*, *gītagoṣṭhī*, *nṛtyagoṣṭhī* and *vādyagoṣṭhī*. We learn of various types of dancing in these *goṣṭhīs*.

There is mention of the *tāṇḍava nṛtya*, telling us of the prevalence of the concept of Śiva dancing (I. 15).¹²⁴ In a beautiful simile describing the dust storms

in summer, we are told that the rising dust seemed as if dancers were performing the *ārabhaṭī nṛtya* (II. 48). There are two other references to the *ārabhaṭī* style of dancing: from the first, we know that this style was danced in the form of a *rāsa* dance, in which the *recakas* were predominant. We are told further that there are five characteristics¹²⁵ of this dance: (1) *maṇḍalī nṛtya*, (2) *recaka*, (3) *rāsa rasa*, (4) *rabhasārabdha nartana*, and (5) *caṭulaśikhānartana*.

According to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *ārabhaṭī* is a style (*vṛtti*)¹²⁶ and not a specific dance: when the *Harṣacarita* refers to the *ārabhaṭī* the reference must be to the character of the dance and the general impression of the dance and not to a particular form of dance. The *maṇḍalī nṛtya* which is mentioned is interpreted by Saṁkara as the *hallīsaka*,¹²⁷ where a man stands surrounded by women in a circle: we have a representation of it in the Bagh Caves, where a man stands in the middle surrounded by women playing with little wooden sticks. The *maṇḍalī nṛtya*, therefore, represents a social type of dancing and is obviously related to the *hallīsaka nṛtya*. The *recaka* is of three types,—*kaṭī recaka* (waist movement), *hasta recaka* (hand movement) and *grīvā recaka* (neck movement). The words *recaka* and *recita* often occur in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, in the movement of the eyebrows (*NS*, VIII. 119a-123a), in the movement of the neck (*NS*, VIII. 171-175), in the *nṛtta hastas* (*NS*, IX. 193), and in the movement of the waist (*NS*, IX. 244b-248a).¹²⁸ The word *recaka* thus refers to the type of movement generally used in dance, and Bharata talks of this movement in the context of those *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas* which can be moved in all directions. The eyebrow *recita* is an exception, but the eyebrow has a special use in the manifestation of love. The rest, i.e., the neck, the waist and the hands (or arms, to be more accurate) can have free movements. These circular movements in the *ārabhaṭī* style made it very effective to create a powerful impression. In the *rāsarasa*, we have again a reference to the patterns formed, specially the floor patterns, rather than the physical movements of the solo performers. According to Saṁkara, the dance consists of the formation of eight, sixteen, or thirty-two *maṇḍalas*¹²⁹ (circles). The circle is the chief characteristic of the dance, and to this day the *rāsa* in any part of India is fascinating for its circle formations of various kinds, e.g., the Gujarati *rāsa* and the different types of *garbā*, as well as the *mahārāsa* variety of the Manipur *rāsa*. We know that the *maṇḍalas* formed in these group dances are of all the four types of *piṇḍibandha*¹³⁰ (group circle formation). We have, first, circle formations based on single chains or concentric circles; often they break up into the *latā bandha* variety, where a number of radii revolve round a centre forming a star-like pattern. Or again, a cyclic pattern might consist of several pairs grouped round a centre holding each other's arms or beating time with sticks, thus evolving concentric circles: a fine example of this type of *piṇḍibandha* may be seen in the *dān-ḍiyā rāsa* of Kathiavara even today. The verve and vigour of this dance might easily make it a dance of the *ārabhaṭī* style. The *rabhasārabdha nartana* generally refers to the frenzied emotion and tempo of the dance.

Thus this *ārabhaṭī* dance to which Bāṇa refers consists of the formation of circles. Distinctly group and collective in character, it utilizes the *recakas* in its *nṛtta* portions and expresses vigorous emotion, enthusiasm or dynamism. The dance must have been characterized by a quick springing tempo, fast movements and a choreography of circle and group formations.¹³¹

In other descriptions in the *Harṣacarita*, the couple dancing of brothers and sisters (we have an earlier reference to it in the *Rgveda*) re-occurs: this is also a dancing of the social type. In Chapter IV we have a vivid description of the birth of Harṣa (125 ff.). The old maid servants of the palace dance, the noble ladies come out and perform different types of dance: the young and the old alike dance with mirth and pleasure. Those long out of practice also start dancing but above all the *Śūdra* maid servants take hold of the favourites of the kings and start dancing with them (IV. 130 ff.). The *pratihārīs* of the queen's chambers join the maid servants in a dance. The exact nature of this couple dancing is not mentioned and cannot be precisely determined; there is no exact term which is used here for couple dancing, but it is repeatedly said that they took each other by the arm and danced.

The word *rāsakamaṇḍala* occurs many times (IV. 130 ff.). This dance lays stress on *tāla*. It is said that the earth could scarcely bear the excitement and agitation caused by the movements of the feet (*tālāvacaracāraṇacarāṇa-kṣobham*).

The instruments accompanying the dance are varied: there was the *ālīṅgya* (a form of *muraja*), the *mañju* flute, the *tantrī*, the *kāhala* (a large drum), the *pāṭaka*, the metal instrument *jhallarika* and of course the clapping with the hands. The commentary elucidates that all the four types of instruments,—*tata*, *vitata*, *susira* and *ghana*—were used, and that the three types of *laya*—*druta*, *madhya* and *vilambita*—were also made use of. This indeed is a graphic description of the *nṛtta* done by the women of the court: they do not present any *abhinaya*, however, but the impressive description of this dance tells vividly of the different types of *āṅgikābhinaya* prevalent. The effect of their dance was such that the *śṛṅgāra rasa* was experienced by the spectators: their arms moved as if they were going to embrace the sun: they danced like the branches of the *candana* tree (sandalwood tree). Their *pādahamsakas* (anklet bells) were the tremors of the *śṛṅgāra rasa*,—and the expression on their faces was like the *kumudini* (the water-lily); they evoked the *bhāvas* of *madana*, *ānanda* and portrayed the sentiments of anger (*kopa*) through the movements of the eyebrows and love through their graceful walking. The description is vivid, but it hardly uses any technical phrases in it, and most of this description of the eyebrows, eyes, shoulders, neck, head, feet, etc., is general where the poet seems to be giving an impression of the dance rather than a technical appreciation of it.

There is also a mention of another type of dance performed only by the ladies of the court with pitchers on their heads: they carry their pitchers round the village singing and dancing: the auspicious significance of pitchers is recognized from very early times, and continues to be accepted to this day.¹³² In the *Yajurvedic* ritual connected with the *aśvamedha yajña*, women carrying pitchers go round the sacrifice, stepping according to elaborate formulae. The *mahāvratā* ceremony also had similar ritual.

The *Harṣacarita* refers to all these people dancing to *tāla*. This indicates that none of these dances were without rhythm and the basic discipline of *tāla* in dancing. The concept of *tāla* is already present in the *Ṛgveda*; we see how it grows and develops in complexity to form an elaborate system of *tāla* unknown to many other countries. The women in the *Harṣacarita* sequence put on anklets (*pāda haṁsaka*) (IV. p. 131) and dance to the *mṛdaṅga*: the use of anklets for purposes of *nṛtta* is mentioned earlier, too, but this is one of the first clear references to it: the word *nūpura* is used in a general sense in Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa, but nowhere does it indicate the use of anklets for purposes of dance: by the time of Bāṇa we find that the complexity of *tāla* must have given importance to the use of anklets. The use of anklets is also peculiar to the classical dance of our country: the more intricate and elaborate the *tāla* became, the greater was the necessity for anklets. Earlier, with the stress on *abhinaya*, anklets do not seem to have been so much in vogue.

Dancers, singers and musicians were not only respected individuals but also formed an essential part of society in Bāṇa's time; only at one place there is a warning against the extreme indulgence in these arts: the crook through music and dance can bring indiscipline and madness to the kingdom (IV. p. 138). Bāṇa has a long list of friends, inclusive of ladies, poets, artists, craftsmen of all description (*Harṣacarita*, I. 42 ff.). We learn of three distinct types of dancers. *Tāṇḍavika*, a young man, is described as a *lāsaka*¹³³ dancer; the woman Harinikā is a *nartakī*; *śikhaṇḍaka*, performer of the *bharatanāṭya*, is called *śailāli*. The last name is obviously derived from Śilāli, the author of the *nāṭya-sūtras*, who is mentioned by Pāṇini¹³⁴. It is probably also related to the *śailūṣa* of the *Ṛgveda*.¹³⁵ The classical dancer is distinguished here from the *nartakī* and the *lāsaka*: the latter were professional dancers, but not perhaps adept in the theory and historical tradition of the dance and drama: the *śailāli* was the formally trained pupil of the dance. Bāṇa is very particular about making this distinction.

The accompanists of these dancers were the musicians, who were also listed among the friends of Bāṇa. There was the *mṛdaṅga*-player (*mārdāṅgika*), the flute-player (*vāṁśika*), the *dardura*-player who played on an earthen percussion instrument (*ghaṭa vādya*) which must have been similar to the playing on the *ghaṭa* (pitcher) in the South today. This is a formidable list, but the *vīṇā* is conspicuous

by its absence here. Other instruments mentioned are the *prayāṇṇa gūnjā*, a marching drum, and various types of conch (*śaṅkha*). We also learn of a percussion instrument beaten by the hands, called the *lambā paṭaha* or *tantrīpaṭahikā* (VIII. 207). Saṅkara interprets this as the *tanūtā*, i.e., *tablā*,¹³⁶ but it is hardly likely that it was the *tablā* in its present shape, for this was unknown to Indian musicians till the Mughals came. It must have been a *mṛdaṅga* of a different variety. The names *lambā paṭaha* or *tantrī paṭahikā* indicate that these instruments were drums hung round the neck by means of a cord.

The dress of the dancers was tight pajamas of the kind depicted in the dance scenes at Sāranātha and at Deogarh; this garment was called the *svasthāna* (II).¹³⁷

Kādambarī

Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* is an equally rich source of music and dancing. *Apsarās*, kings, queens, ministers, damsels, courtesans, birds, peacocks, creepers all dance here at one stage or another. Bāṇa gives us a long list of the fourteen types of *apsarās*,¹³⁸ tells us of the education of Prince Candrāpīḍa¹³⁹ and gives us another long list of musical instruments¹⁴⁰ and yet another list of the movements of minor limbs,¹⁴¹ besides describing the actual dance performances.

The parrot Vaiśampāyana is introduced as being well versed in the art of dancing and music; he has mastered the twenty-two *śrutis* of music; he has studied and composed poems, plays, romances (*ākhyāna*): he is a peerless connoisseur of all the varieties of musical instruments, such as the lute (*vīṇā*), the flute (*veṇu*) and the drum (*muraja*); and he is proficient in the exhibition and critical appreciation of dancing (*nṛtta prayogadarśanāmpuṇa*).¹⁴²

Śukanāsa is a learned man and his intellect has been refined by his having studied all the *śāstras* and the fine arts.¹⁴³ Candrāpīḍa's education is most elaborate and he makes the ideal student for the "whole range of arts assembled in his mind as in a pure jewelled mirror." He gained the highest skill in language, logic, law and royal policy; in musical instruments such as the lute (*vīṇā*), the flute (*veṇu*) and the drum (*muraja*); in the cymbals (*kansatāla*), in the works and laws of dancing as laid down by Bharata;¹⁴⁴ and in the science of music such as that of Nārada.¹⁴⁵

The initiated spectator of the dance and the pupil of classical dancing were a recognized feature of this society. From the above references it is quite clear that dancing was not confined to women alone and that it constituted an essential feature of a prince's training. In festivities, dancing played an important part. At the birth of Candrāpīḍa everyone rejoiced and both the young and the old danced.¹⁴⁶ This frenzied dancing is preceded and accompanied by the sound of several drums and many other musical instruments like the conch (*śaṅkha*) and

the *dundubhi*. The drums mentioned are the *kāhala*, the *aṅkya*, the auspicious *paṭaha*, and, of course, the *mṛdaṅga*. We have another long list of drums a little later, where besides the above the *mardala* is also mentioned.¹⁴⁷ In the festivities, not only do the courtesans dance but also the deaf-mutes in groups; hunch-backs and dwarfs and the bands who sing also start dancing. The accompaniment, in addition to the drums, comprises various mouth instruments (*vividha mukhavādya*). All this dancing was perhaps not strictly classical in character, and the poet punctiliously uses the word *nṛtta* rather than *lāsya* or *nṛtya* or its any other variation.

The youth of Candrāpiḍa increased the prince's beauty as 'a peacock's tail, which is a fit instrument for exhibiting various graceful dances, increases the beauty of the peacock'.¹⁴⁸ Here the word *lāsya* is used instead of *nṛtta*, and the idea of a graceful (*sukumāra*) dancing is indicated. The dancing of peacocks is referred to in another place,¹⁴⁹ where the word used is *nṛtya* and not *lāsya*.

In similes and metaphors we often find dancing mentioned. The creepers are given instruction in dancing by the wind, an image we often come across in Kālidāsa's works.¹⁵⁰ King Candrāpiḍa's ear-rings were set to dancing by the numerous fly-whisks, which were being waved on both sides.¹⁵¹ In a description of General Śabara, we are told that the Niṣādas (a wild tribe) followed the general 'as the arrangement of notes in the art of music'.¹⁵² In another description of the palace of Candrāpiḍa, the unfurled banners are compared to a dramatic piece 'which is embellished with clearly marked *pāṭakas* and *aṅkas* (episodes and acts).¹⁵³ Like a music hall (*saṅgīta bhavana*) it (the palace) had tabors (drums, *mṛdaṅga*) placed in various places for practice.¹⁵⁴ As people in the palace took delight in the performances of actors it looked as if they were the family of Raghu delighted by the virtues of Rāma's brother Bharata.

Later, there is a beautiful comparison: "In it (the palace) was tasted the pleasure of various sounds and sentiments, it was like a musical instrument, the lute (*vīṇā*), from which is obtained the pleasure of various sounds and melodies." At another place the wind is the dancing master of the creepers.¹⁵⁵

These references in the *Kādambarī* do not give us an idea of any special style of dancing: and there is nothing comparable with the mention of the *ārabhaṭī* dance in the *Harṣacarita*. However, eye glances, movements of the eyeballs, and movements of the eyebrows are often described in the terminology of Bharata, besides the mention of his name several times (p. 88 etc).

Thus *viṣādaśūnya dr̥ṣṭi*¹⁵⁶ is here used for fear (*NS*, VIII, 63 and 70). The movement of the eyebrows is mentioned,¹⁵⁷ but this is a more generalized reference. *Smitāvalokita* glance and *kuñcita* eyebrows and glance are also often mentioned.¹⁵⁸ We have a reference to *lalitahasta* also.

We have other phrases like *apāṅgavikṣepa* (p. 275), *gītakalāvinyāsa* (p. 57), *saṅgīta* as a comprehensive term including vocal and instrumental music and dancing (p. 15), and *nartakengagāyati* for singing and dancing together (p. 337), and *śṛṅgāra nṛtya* for expressing feelings of love through *āṅgikābhinaya* (gesticulation, p. 359) and *lalita lāsya* for graceful dancing to the accompaniment of *muraja*, etc. (p. 371).

The whole atmosphere of the *Kādambarī* is wrought with the spirit of dancing and graceful movements, but full-fledged classical dance recitals are few. By the time Bāṇa wrote, however, the entire classical tradition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* had become an integral part of the social heritage and the community dancing employed a great deal of the technique of the classical dancing.

Nāṭya Literature

Sanskrit drama has often been severely criticized for its lack of action and for the undue importance it gives to dance and music. Keith thinks that the Sanskrit dramatist used dance for ornamental purposes.¹⁵⁹ Today it is generally accepted that Keith misread Sanskrit drama, and that dance and music do form an integral part of this drama. Indeed Sanskrit drama devoid of its dance, its operatic quality, its *āṅgikābhinaya* (which is none other than the *abhinaya* of the contemporary classical dance), loses its fundamental character. The dances are not appendages or appurtenances of songs and dances we find interspersed in the social dramas of the contemporary Indian screen. Nor are they introduced to divert the attention of the audience from a serious theme and thus provide relief. They are, instead, rather like the Fool in the Shakespearean drama: like him they continually stress the main theme and, more often than not, a dance recital is a turning point in the plot. Thus it is that the demon appears while Damodara and his cowherds perform the *hallīsaka nṛtta* in Bhāsa's *Bālacarita* (Act III). The King in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is able to see Mālavikā only through her dance recital. In the *Vikramorvaśīya*, Urvaśī's dance recital in the court of Indra and the lapse in her acting results in her descent upon the earth. In the *Priyadarśikā*, queen Vāsavadattā instructs the supposed daughter of Vindhya Ketu in dancing and the other arts but the plot takes a turn when *Āraṇyakā* plays the part of Vāsavadattā in a play dealing with the love of Vāsavadattā and Vatsarāja (Act III). In the *Ratnāvalī* it is the painting scene which is a turning point in a similar manner. Examples could be multiplied to show how dance recitals are not mere ornaments, but an essential part of the structure of this drama.

From these dramas, we come to know of many types of dancing, both social and classical. There are group dances and solo recitals; frequently there is an opera of some kind. Often opinions on drama, dance and music are discussed, which are no layman's opinions: they are usually in a technical language, convincing us of the existence of the initiated spectators of these arts. The dances themselves are

performed according to rules prescribed by Bharata and we know of the quality of the dance through the judgement of other characters. Dance descriptions in similes and metaphors continue to occur: we have examples of *āṅgikābhinaya*, sometimes, when the *abhinaya* must have been performed to a verse recited either by the character himself or herself, but more often in stage directions, which indicate stylized gesticulation of both the *āṅgika* and the *sāttvika* kind. Stage directions where gesticulation is used according to the *nāṭyadharmī* convention provides us with a clue to the *āṅgikābhinaya* in these dramas, where the language of gestures more than made up for the absence of scenery and realistic stage property.

In Bhāsa's *Bālacarita* (Act III) Kṛṣṇa goes to the woods with his friends, cowherds and maidens: they perform the *hallisaka* dance to the accompaniment of drums.¹⁶⁰ The dance refers to a group formation, again of the *rāsa* category, which is vividly described in the *Harivaṁśa*. The *Mahābhārata*, too, knows of such a dance in the festival of *Indra Maha* (*Indradhvaja*) (*Ādi Parva*, 63.17 and 57.21): it resembled the may-pole dance,¹⁶¹ and was replaced by *Giri Maha* (the mountain worship).¹⁶² A similar dance is mentioned in Act II of Bhāsa's *Pañcarātra*, associated no doubt with the ritual dance of the winter solstice in the *Mahāvratā* rite. It is also possible that a dance on the occasion of an eclipse is meant.¹⁶³ In the *Abhiṣekanāṭaka* the *gandharvas* and the *apsarās* sing praises of Viṣṇu.

An analysis of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* shows that the author of this play has made a great advance on the plays of Bhāsa; it is obvious that stage techniques have become more defined. The *Mṛcchakaṭika* is also a remarkable example of the successful use of both the *nāṭyadharmī* and the *lokadharmī* conventions.¹⁶⁴

Dance plays an important part in the play: the heroine is the courtesan par excellence, praised by all, desired by many. She does not dance during the play, but from innumerable references we know that she is an artist of great calibre. In the first act we learn from the Viṭa that Vasantasenā is trained in dancing: she is skilled in performance (*nṛtya prayoga*) and her feet swiftly change their position (I. 17).¹⁶⁵ She enters like a frightened deer, with her eyes moving in every direction and a look of bewilderment on her face: she is being pursued. Vasantasenā's flight, without the aid of lights and sports could be portrayed only through the actor's skill in dancing.¹⁶⁶

In Act IV,¹⁶⁷ the Vidūṣaka enters the place of the courtesan to find the ladies singing and dancing; these women play on the *kāṁsya tāla* cymbals, the *mṛdaṅga*, the *vaṁśī* which sounds like the hum of bees, the *vīṇā* which is played by the touch of finger nails. They are being trained in the art of dance and are rehearsing a drama full of the *śṛṅgāra rasa*. Here *nṛtya* and *nāṭya* are referred to separately: (*nartyanṭe nāṭyam paṭhyante saśṛṅgāram*). We may justifiably conclude that the practice and learning of dancing was clearly distinguished from that of *nāṭya* or drama.

The palace of the courtesans is not the only place where singing and dancing are witnessed. The hero Cārudatta is also fond of the arts of music and dance: in Act III he has just returned from a musical concert at his friend Rebhila's place: his comment on it is in a highly technical language, indicative of his initiated and critical appreciation of these arts. He is a true *rasika* and *sahṛdaya*: reminiscing he exclaims: "The song was informed by the moods (*bhāvas*) now passionate (*rakta*), now sweet (*madhura*), now calm (*sama*), and now languishing and graceful (*lalita*); it seemed the lovely voice of my hidden love." (III. 4-5). Besides this he uses the following musical terms: low progression (*savara-saṁkrama*), the high-pitched crescendo (*tāra*) of the scales (*varṇa*), modes (*mūrccana*) deviation from true note (*helā*)¹⁶⁸ and *rāga*.

Later, in the same Act, Śarvilaka enters Cārudatta's house as a burglar: inside he finds a number of musical instruments. He mentions the *mṛdaṅga*, the *dardura*, (a kind of flute), the *vaṁśī*, the *panava* (a kind of small drum), and the *vīṇā*. He exclaims: "Oh is this the house of a teacher of music?" The word he uses is *nāṭyācārya*; perhaps, teachers of dance, drama or music were all called *nāṭyācāryas*, and the three arts were considered allied (III. 18 ff.).¹⁶⁹

From the prologue of the drama, we learn that the author knew the *Rgveda*, the *Sāmaveda* and the arts practised by the courtesans (*vaiśakī kalā*).¹⁷⁰ The social status of the courtesans and the acceptance of their arts by the public are clear from this. The fine arts seem to have definitely passed into the hands of courtesans by this time. These courtesans were looked upon with respect. The learned authors also took training in these arts.

The *Mṛcchakaṭika* meets the approval of the modern mind and the western critics of drama, precisely because the spoken word is important here, and there is "action" in the modern sense of the word: *bhāvas* (moods) are not described, and with a few incongruities like the bullock carts appearing on the stage, the play is easy to adapt to modern stage conditions. Examples of *āṅgikābhinaya* are, however, by no means lacking in this play; the author of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* must have been familiar with the rules of *āṅgikābhinaya* and well acquainted with the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He frequently employs the instrument of *āṅgikābhinaya* to great advantage, even though stage directions for these effects are often missing. We know that the visions of a stormy night, of house being broken into, and of carts chasing each other, could only be produced through the language of gestures.

In Act I, Cārudatta and the Vidūṣaka enter the stage and are supposed to be inside the house: then enters Vasantasenā, followed by Śakāra and the others: the Viṭa and Śakāra go on speaking of Vasantasenā up to Verse 29; the Viṭa continually describes her movements. Her eyes are frightened and her eyeballs move around in *kaṭākṣa*. She is like a silken garment fluttering in the breeze. Vasantasenā's

enacting of utter fright and running precedes the Viṭa's commentary on her movements: had she spoken the words herself and had it been in a different mood, it would have become the *sucā* type of *abhinaya* (NS, XXII. 43). Similarly, Act III, where Śarvilaka breaks into Cārudatta's house by cutting a hole in the wall, is an excellent example in *āṅgikābhinaya*. It is possible that a wall was depicted here by the use of a stage prop, thus dividing the stage into two, but it is much more likely that through gestures the actor depicted entering the house, seeing the inmates sleeping. He takes the casket of jewels and walks out of the inner zone, thus representing his coming out again: meanwhile the audience can presumably see the inmates sleeping. Cārudatta discovers the theft: they all talk of the hole. It is possible that this hole may not have been actually presented in certain acted versions of the play. In Act IV, Vasantasenā is indoors and looks out of a window, (the window being represented through hand gestures)¹⁷¹ to see Madanikā talking to her lover. Later in the same Act the Vidūṣaka enters the palace of Vasantasenā to give her the jewels belonging to Cārudatta's wife: his description of the palace and of its seven quadrangles is a fine instance of *āṅgikābhinaya*. With steps and words, he tells us of the transit from one quadrangle to another. In Act V, the atmosphere of a great storm raging is created by means of verses accompanied by suitable action both by Vasantasenā and the Viṭa.

Examples of this kind could be multiplied. But none of these passages, where *āṅgikābhinaya* supports the *vācika*, are in the nature of descriptions of poses, postures and dance movements. It is only in Kālidāsa that we come across description of this type. In the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, a visual image is created through words which must have been supported by appropriate gestures of the hands and other limbs. They, however, do not attain the technical excellence of Kālidāsa's plays, and are comparatively of a simple kind.

There are stage directions in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* which give us specific instances of *āṅgikābhinaya*. In Act I, Vasantasenā enacts the taking off of her anklets (*nūpura*), and the groping with her hands for the wall and door of Cārudatta's house (I. 37ff.). The *āṅgikābhinaya* for this would be as follows: The night would be indicated by *sūcīmukha* hands facing each other and held on the right side; the removal of armlets by *ardhacandra hastas*; the anklets by the same *hastas*; the door would be indicated by *tripatākā hastas* and entry into the house with a *patākā hasta*. The entire scene of Vasantasenā being pursued, her groping along the wall, her finding and entering the door would be a piece of *āṅgikābhinaya*. The lamp she puts out may actually have been on the stage; if not, then it would have been indicated by *haṁsāsya* hands.¹⁷² The lamp may also have been indicated by the *sūcīmukha hasta* (NS, IX. 67). In Act II, Vasantasenā enters in a love-lorn condition; the love-sickness here is described as *utkanṭhā*: this is equivalent to Bharata's *unmāda*, one of the stages of love in a woman, and would be represented by a fixed gaze, occasional deep sighs, absentmindedness.¹⁷³ Vasantasenā is certainly absent-minded;

she does not remember what she has said and knits her eyebrows (*bhrūkṣepa*) to answer her friend: this is the *utkṣepa* movement of the eyebrows of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (VIII. 123-24).

In the same Act, the Māthura and the gamester appear pursuing Saṁvāhaka. Saṁvāhaka after striking several attitudes disguises himself by posing as an idol: the depth of the stage is utilized wonderfully here, because the Saṁvāhaka enters the temple walking backwards (II. 2 ff.). Saṁvāhaka, who can see his pursuers, must have adopted a perfect statue-like stance when the two entered. The entrance must also have been shown by gestures: two *kartarimukha* hands would represent the *gopuram* of the temple (NS, IX. 42) and *patākā hastas* would be used to denote entry. The subsequent playing of the dice and the thrashing of Saṁvāhaka must have been done here realistically and not through gesticulation; for otherwise the realistic vitality of the play may have been altogether lost. But when the beating leads to bleeding, the bleeding and the fainting would again be shown by gesticulation.

Saṁvāhaka makes good his escape and the venue shifts from the temple to Vasantasenā's house, but without a change of act or scene. Vasantasenā is inside the house, Māthura and the gamester pursuing Saṁvāhaka are outside the house and Madanikā talking to Saṁvāhaka is also outside the house, where she has been sent by Vasantasenā, Saṁvāhaka being offered a seat is inside the house; all these groupings are shown in the same scene. The ease with which this is accomplished could only be possible on the Sanskrit stage. The actor merely walked from one part of the stage to another, with hands in the *hamsāsya* position to indicate an exit from a building to the outside or in the *patākā* position to indicate entry into a house.¹⁷¹ The house itself is suggested by using *saṁyukta patākā* hands. Even in a play so full of realism as the *Mṛcchakatika* we see that *āṅgikābhinaya* and stage conventions play an important part: any inaccuracy or shoddiness in the actor's movements would result in ruining a great deal of the visual effect of the play.

In Act III, Cārudatta's house is suggested in a similar manner. After Cārudatta and the Viduṣaka have enacted sleeping, Śarvilaka enters the stage as he is outside the house; he indicates the house with outstretched hands; further, through *abhinaya*, he depicts the making of a hole in the wall. With gesticulation alone he works industriously to make a breach and, having made it, enters the house. A very skilled and competent actor must have acted this sequence, for the demands made on the skill of an actor here are, indeed, exacting. The burglary scene, from the receipt of the casket from the Viduṣaka after warming his hands to the description of his prowess, swiftness and agility to his standing like a pillar, is a characteristic example of *āṅgikābhinaya*.

In Act IV, where Vasantasenā calls for a carriage, a chariot may, perhaps, really have appeared on the stage to take Madanikā. The stage direction does not, as would be the case if the carriage was merely suggested, call for gesticulatory action similar to that indicated in other places; instead, it merely indicates 'entrance of servant with carriage' (*praveśya sapravāhana*). We may presume that the chariot was a piece of stage property. Bharata lays down two stage rules regarding the use of such props on the stage. In the chapter called (*Daśarūpalakṣaṇam*, i.e., XVIII) he lays down that a chariot, an elephant, a horse or a palace should not be presented on the stage: they should instead be represented or suggested by means of likeness, costume, gait or movements.¹⁷⁵ In the chapter dealing with costume, make-up, etc. (*ahāryābhinaya*), we are told that many kinds of accessories (*upakaraṇa*) are needed for the theatre and that an imitation of any object which exists in this world full of living beings may be shown on the stage but that "palaces and vehicles, though these are accessories (for the performance) cannot be produced for the stage realistically." (*NŚ*, *Kāvya-mālā*, XXI. 192). After this general principle we are told that in the *lokadharmī* tradition some of these things may be produced, but not in the *nāṭyadharmī*. Regarding props we are told that "skeleton frames of armours . . . hills, palaces, elephants, aerial cars and houses should be made with sliced bamboo and then such frames should be covered with painted cloth," palm products may also be used instead of cloth.¹⁷⁶ In the *Mṛcchakaṭika* it is possible that an imitation of a chariot was produced on the stage.

Acts IV and V are full of descriptions, first by the Viduṣaka who describes the various quadrangles and his transit from one to the other; this he depicts with his hands and gait; and then by Vasantasenā who goes out as an *abhisārikā*, brilliantly attired, to meet Cārudatta (V. 18ff.). Her descriptions were surely preceded and followed by hand gestures: the expression of her face and gait must also have suited the occasion. It is also possible that some musical sounds suggesting thunder and rain were used¹⁷⁷ but these, too, would be complemented by hand gestures and facial expressions. An upward movement of the arm with *patākā hasta*, palm down and sloping forward slightly, would indicate the wind and storm (*NŚ*, IX. 23); the *sūcīmukha hasta* with the fore-finger up would indicate lightning (*NŚ*, IX. 66); and general movements of *svastika hastas* would create the atmosphere of clouds, thunder and lightning.

After some trouble Vasantasenā finds her lover. She exhibits the *śṛṅgāra bhāva* and Cārudatta displays pleasure at her touch (*sparśa*) (V. 46 ff.). If the play was performed in the *nāṭyadharmī* tradition, it is hardly likely that the actors embraced each other, for these acts were strictly forbidden on the stage.¹⁷⁸ Instead, the touch would be shown by narrowing the eyes, raising the eyebrows, and touching the shoulder and the cheek (*NŚ*, XXII. 77b-78a). Touch might also be shown by a pair of *utsaṅga* hands (*NŚ*, IX. 139) and an embrace suggested by a pair of *kaṭakavardhamānaka hastas* (*NŚ*, IX. 136).

In Act VIII, the strangling of Vasantasenā by Śakāra is also portrayed through gesticulation. The Buddhist mendicant suggests the heap of leaves and the removal of the heap by gesticulation: the stage directions here throw considerable light on the theatrical conventions of the day and show how well the language of gesture was understood by the audience.

In Kālidāsa we find a crystallization of these conventions: a close study of the stage technique of his plays and the part played by dancing therein leaves us in no doubt about the character of the Sanskrit theatre.

By the time of Kālidāsa, not only has the technique of words become more polished, chiselled and refined, but taste in drama, dance and music has developed and become more critically rigorous and academically exacting. References to dancing, *nṛtta* and *nṛtya abhinaya* (*āṅgika*) found in Kālidāsa hardly ever deviate from the rules of Bharata: he is always following the learned tradition of the scholar-poet, the perfect stage-craftsman, the professional dramatist rather than merely the poet. His descriptions of dancers and dancing are accurate observations and critical evaluations of the art, and are, therefore, significant.

All Kālidāsa's dramas deal with dancers, but in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* we have a unique reference, which is most valuable for our purpose. The dance recital we see here is a perfectly executed dance number by Mālavikā; it is classical dance at its best. We are not only told of the different types of *nṛtya* and *abhinaya* she presents but are also given a critical evaluation of the dance performance by an objective spectator in the person of the Parivrājikā.

The drama opens with Bakulavālikā's going to *guru* Gaṇadāsa to enquire how Mālavikā has progressed in learning the dance, '*chalika*': in the subsequent acts we learn more not only about this particular composition, but also about dance in general, and see how accurately this dance training conforms to the theoretical canons of dancing. Gaṇadāsa sets the tone of the academic dancing in his first speech: "Our pride in *nāṭya* is not false for even the sages regard dancing with veneration; the gods praise it as an agreeable and delightful ritual which satisfies the eye: for the sake of this art Śiva caused the left side of his body to become feminine (i.e., divided himself into two, an oblique reference to the two styles, *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya*): it has the three qualities (*guṇas*) of *sattva*, *raja* and *tama*: its appeal is universal and it gratifies the diverse tastes of people." (I. 4).

The words *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya* are not used, but, in the conception of Śiva dividing himself into two, the idea of two categories of dancing is inherent. In stating that dance imitates and displays various emotions and actions of people in different situations, Gaṇadāsa is once again restating the secular and educational aim of dancing and drama. This verse immediately reminds us of Bharata's own

explanation of the true character and significance of this art stated in the first chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Here Brahma tells the *dānavas*: "This play is not merely for your pleasure or the pleasure of the *devas*, but exhibits *bhāva* (moods) for all the three worlds" (*NŚ*, I. 108). Or again, "the drama as I have devised, is an imitation of actions and conducts of people, it is rich in various emotions and it depicts different situations." (*NŚ*, I. 113-14). "Drama is that which accords with the nature of the world. It consists in movements of the body and the other arts of expressive gesture (*abhinaya*). The theatre is such as to afford a means of entertainment in the world and place of audience for the *Vedas*, for philosophy. . . . and other matters." (*NŚ*, I. 117 ff.).

Ganadāsa's views on dance and drama are those of a learned scholar. He knows that art is not a commodity to be sold, but a discipline to be attained through the severest training. He is not afraid of academic discussion, for the profession of a teacher for him is not merely a means of livelihood (*Mālavikāgnimitra*, I. 17). To this learned teacher of dance the good pupil is a source of great joy and satisfaction. Praising Mālavikā, he says: "She repeats her lessons so well that the role of the teacher and the taught is reversed." (I. 5). He is talking specially of her talent for portraying emotions, for he uses the word *bhāva*;¹⁷⁹ for dancing he uses the word *prayoga*. The latter word plays an important part in this demonstration of dance and gives us a significant clue to the opinions held on the subject. The Parivrājikā says in her observations: "No theoretical discussion will help, for the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is primarily a practical art (*prayoga-pradhāna*)" (I. 15 ff.).¹⁸⁰ Ganadāsa's pupil is indeed so talented that the master is anxious to make her perform, even though she has not practised for long. He says later in the act: "When artistic training is imparted to an apt pupil (*supātra*), it transforms itself into a triumph of achievement, just as ordinary water, when it falls into the shell of a pearl oyster in the ocean, transforms itself into a priceless gem" (Act. I. 6).

After much discussion between the two teachers, Mālavikā is presented on the stage and the Buddhist nun Parivrājikā becomes the judge. The emphasis is on the word *prayoga*, the teachers and the judge again and again assert that *nṛtya* is a practical art. Ganadāsa humbly submits that he has learnt this art of gesticulation from great masters and has also given performances of it. Haradatta in his turn wishes that his training both in the theory (*śāstra*) and the practice (*prayoga*) should be judged (I. 12 ff.).

The Parivrājikā having given her verdict that an assessment of the art can only be made by witnessing a performance, the performance of the beautiful Mālavikā begins. It is prefaced, however, by a few significant remarks by the Parivrājikā which throw light on the nature of classical dance performances of the time. She wants the performer to come without excessive make-up and costume, so that her movements can be clearly seen. She wants to see the movements of

all her limbs, and her *abhinaya* is to be clear and precise (*sarvāṅgasauṣṭhava*). This brings out a subtle but important difference between the classical dance, which became the courtesan's profession and monopoly, and the classical dance, which continued to be an important part of the educational curricula. The pupil, the disciple in the art, was not to appear too decked up in tinsel and ornament; she was to portray the feelings and emotions through *āṅgikābhinaya* rather than through the art of make-up and costume (*nepathya* and *āharva*). *Sauṣṭhava* of the limbs is an important technical phrase from Bharata: he refers to *sauṣṭhava* at various places, and defines it "as the completely natural position of the limbs, when the person is neither too upright nor bent, and is at ease; when the waist and the ears as well as the elbow, the shoulder and the head are in their natural positions (*sama*) and the chest is slightly raised." Those performing the exercises in *nṛtta aṅghāras* must be careful of this (*NṢ*, *Kāvyamālā*, X. 89b and 91-93). The Parivrājikā's injunction to Mālavikā is, therefore, significant. The *sauṣṭhava* of the limbs is indicative of the accuracy of training, and trappings would necessarily conceal it. Even today, in contemporary classical dance, we can observe that the dance loses its charm and restraint the moment this *sauṣṭhava* is lost sight of; negligence in this respect leads to indiscipline in movement, and the body bends where it is not necessary and desirable. Mālavikā then appears on the stage with all her limbs in the *sauṣṭhava* position (*sarvāṅgasauṣṭhava*); a dance performance must begin from this position of pose, complete control and balance. The Parivrājikā, in her evaluation of the two *gurus*, had already said, that 'the true *guru* must not only be a good performer but also be a good teacher' (I. 16). And now the real test of these *gurus* is the performance of the pupil: 'Mālavikā must dance the difficult composition of Sarmisthā named the *Catuspāda Chalika*' (II. 4) The *mrdaṅga* (*puṣkara*) sounds in the background, the peacocks mistake it for the thundering of the clouds, and the sound that emerges is the *madhyama svara mavūrī*. Against this congenial setting Mālavikā performs her dance.

We are told that she sings an *upagāna* and then does the *abhinaya* to the song. K. V. Ramachandran describes this *abhinaya* in lyrical and ecstatic terms: "Mālavikā exteriorizes this inner agitation by a warm gale and listless head lowered to side, life contracted in pain and a variety of glances tender and pathetic, pupils languid, lids weary and drooping punctuated by sighs and tears followed by slow play of eyebrows and the flicker of a smile and opening eyes of wonder and sweet breath encouraged by the throbbing eye, passing on to the distant eyes of reverie and vacant ones of perplexity, ending in the unmitigated despair of the final appeal in the last *pada* of the verse, gliding from one exquisite posture to another, feet stepping gently, wrists curling and uncurling like flowers as she gestures, all this complex ensemble was called *abhinaya*."¹⁸¹

The *abhinaya* is significant for its perfection and everyone applauds the performance. The composition and structure of the verse to which she dances is

the *catuspāda* and the dance '*chalika*' is described by the commentator Kāṭyavama as the dance in which the dancer, while acting the part of another, succeeds in expressing his or her own real feelings.

Mālavikā does the *abhinaya* according to the proper *rasa* (*yathārasam rasān-ukūlam abhinayati*), which is *śṛṅgāra*. After a successful performance, she stands in an exquisitely beautiful pose, called the *āyata*: the king is irresistibly infatuated and his description of the pose is not only the lover's response to the loved one but also a correct description of a dance pose (II. 6). One hand resting on the hip, the other relaxed creeper-wise, eyes downcast, toes playing on the ground collecting the scattered flowers, in half or three-fourth profile, she presents a picture more captivating and beautiful than the full moon. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* describes the *āyata* posture as a *sthāna* for women: one foot is *sama*, the other is *tryaśra* (obliquely placed) (*NS*, XII. 159b-160). This posture is used for the first appearance on the stage, observing carefully, thinking and dissimulation, etc. (*NS*, XII. 163b-164a).

The Parivrājikā's learned comment follows the king's ecstatic description. Mālavikā's acting was successful, for she was able to replace her own personality by that of Sarmisthā's as though possessed by her; she had thus been able to inject the audience with her feelings. The Parivrājikā also uses two technical terms *śākhā* and *sūcī* (II. 8). *Śākhā* was a school of dance that employed certain stylized arm movements, as seen to this day in some traditions of Bāli and Jāvā. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* defines the *sūcī* as a technique which conveys and foreshadows, through gestures and temperament, the meaning of a sentence before it is sung or recited (*NS*, *Kāvya-mālā*, XXII. 43). This kind of representation is done mainly through dance and song. If the same technique is employed to recapitulate past events, whether by mere allusion to a past event or by the portrayal of the whole episode through *abhinaya*, it is called *aṅkura* (*NS*, *Kāvya-mālā*, XXII. 44). Kālidāsa often indulges in word-play with these terms, *sūcī aṅkura* and *śākhā*, using their literal and technical meanings; and we meet them again in *Śākuntalā*, when Śakuntalā pauses to beckon Anusuyā in Act I.¹⁸² She bends down with the gesture of the *sūcī* hands extending down as though to extract the thorn from a *sūcī* foot and stretches herself with a toss of the arms as though to disentangle her garment from imaginary branches: this sequence is an excellent example of *sūcī abhinaya* eloquent of the state of her feelings. This *sūcī* becomes *aṅkura* when the king in Act II recapitulates it. Here, too, there is word-play on these technical terms (II. 12).¹⁸³ Actually, a great deal of the *abhinaya* in Sanskrit drama could be classified under the categories of *sūcī śākhā* and *aṅkura*, for the accurate descriptions by characters of each other and sometimes of themselves are often preceded or followed by physical gesticulation and are thus like the song accompaniment in contemporary dancing. We shall examine these examples later.

Nor is the Viduṣaka an ignorant spectator; his light-hearted comment on

the *priya* of the Brāhmaṇas is as academically sound as any of the earlier learned comments on Mālavikā's dance. The Parivrājikā rightly says that 'the question is very appropriate and knowledgeable' (II. 9 ff.).

The *Mālavikāgnimitra* provides other important examples of space manipulation and zonal treatment of the stage, as also significant stage directions for *āṅgikābhinaya*. We shall examine them later: for the moment suffice it to say that the dance recital of Mālavikā is the most finished and refined presentation of the classical dance technique. This classical dance was distinctly different from the popular group dances of the time and was rather like contemporary dance performances in which the dancer is a solo performer depicting the emotions of various characters. Further, this dance was a combination of foot work, hand movements, eye movements, expressions, etc., all done to the accompaniment of song and *tāla*.

Vikramorvaśīya

We have no other instances of specific dance recitals in Kālidāsa comparable with Mālavikā's; nor do we find another instance of such detailed description within the play itself. The *Vikramorvaśīya*, however, refers to a play in which, at the command of Lord Indra, the heavenly dancer Urvaśī takes part. This command is conveyed to Urvaśī while she sports with the king in the pleasure-garden. The play is described as having the eight *rasas*. These actresses of Indra's court have been trained by Bharata himself (II. 17). (Later we learn that the theme was the marriage of Lakṣmī.) Incidentally, we gather from this reference that in Kālidāsa's day Bharata was credited with having listed only eight *rasas* in *nāṭya* and not nine: presumably the *śānta rasa* had not yet been accepted as a clearly defined and independent *rasa*.¹⁸⁴ In Act III, from the conversation of the pupils of Bharata, Gālava and Pallava, we learn how the audience reacted to this play, called the *Lakṣmī-Svayamvara*. The lyrics for this play were composed by Sarasvatī herself and the audience was completely absorbed in the portrayal of different *rasas*. Urvaśī, in the part of Lakṣmī, gave herself away by the fatal mistake of saying 'Pururava' instead of 'Puruṣottama'—an unforgivable lapse for the actress who must completely annihilate herself and rise above personal emotion. The celestial dancer's fault brings upon her the wrath of the god; to expiate she must descend to earth and bear a child to the king, love for whom caused her to err.

There are no other dance recitals in the plays of Kālidāsa but, as in his poetry, so also in his plays, there are descriptions, similes and metaphors which tell us of the widespread knowledge and popularity of this art in Kālidāsa's time. In the *Kumārasambhava*, the trees dance with the coming of Vasanta (III. 26), and the *aśoka* trees blossom with the touch of lovely maidens. In the *Vikramor-*

vaśīya the madness of the love-possessed king makes him see birds, trees and animals dance.

In Act II, the king sees in the wind a lover who makes both the *mādhavī* and the *kundana* creepers happy: the breeze (*pavana*) makes the *kundalatā* dance. The word Kālidāsa uses here is *lāsya* (II. 4); it is obviously used as a synonym for *nrtya*. In Act IV, the demented king goes round asking every natural object whether his beloved has passed that way. He talks to the dancing trees, birds and animals asking them if they have seen Urvaśī. The *kalpa*-tree dances, the bees provide the song (*gītam*), the cuckoo (*kokilā*) provides instrumental music like the *tūrya* and the wind makes the new and tender leaves of these trees vibrate as if dancing in various ways (IV. 12). The idea of orchestration we have observed earlier: we have here another distinct image, one which becomes increasingly common and conventional. The king sees the dark clouds that form overhead and he addresses his question to them. All nature takes part in the magnificent dance performance: the shadow of the clouds is the physical form of the dancer, the waves that rise are the hands and arms moved by the wind: the thunder is the *śaṅkha*, the *haṁsas* which move are the *nūpura* of the feet of the dancer; the herds of elephants are the blue garments of the dancer; the blue lotuses are the garlands; and the movement of the waves is the rhythm. Here we have an image of the dance complete with elaborate ornamentation.

Apart from these similes, metaphors and references to dancing in Kālidāsa's dramas, there is an aspect of his art, which is indistinguishable from the *abhinaya* of the contemporary Indian dancing and which distinguishes it from the tradition of realism on the stage. The result of this technique is the easy flow of movement on the stage and an impression of lyrical fluidity. Act IV of the *Vikramorvaśīya* provides us with an excellent example of this essential operative quality.

There is background music and recitation only to enable the actors to conjure up images of mountains, trees and rivers through *āṅgikābhinaya*. Two friends, Sahajanyā and Citralekhā, enter the stage, wailing over the fate of Urvaśī. The first two verses tell us of their emotional state. In fact, the tone of the entire scene, is set by these two verses which must have been sung (IV. 1-2). There is little conversation, and before they depart, the second verse is repeated like a refrain from the background, and the fourth one is recited, to which they make their exit (IV. 4). The friends are the swans, and the king is the elephant longing for his beloved. The king then appears in a love-frenzied state and once again the atmosphere is created by the background verse, which describes the mental state of the king. All this is followed by a lovely bit of *aṅkura* and *sūcī abhinaya*, when the king addresses clouds, plants and rivers, mistaking them sometimes for demons and sometimes for his beloved. Here is an example of the *nāṭyadharmī* convention at its purest: the atmosphere is gradually built up through words and, what is

more, through movement to give us a vivid impression of the king's emotional frenzy. The stage directions support the verse: the king bends his knees, turns and twists around and addresses sometimes with raised arm the clouds and the heavens; at other times his hands are in *añjali hasta*: he expresses himself through a series of dance movements. These movements are performed to varying metrical forms of poetry set to different melodies, rhythms, and rendered in different tempo. His impassioned state is presented on the stage through movement and static poses and through the recitation of verses from the background¹⁸⁵ (IV. 19 and 23 ff.) The stage directions of this act shall be taken up separately, for they are precise and accurate: they tell us of how far he moved and in which direction, where he knelt and where he stood up to portray the meaning of these verses: the background verses coming like refrains go on telling us of the elephant yearning for his beloved.

The *Vikramorvaśīya*, however, still does not give us an insight into the exact nature and quality of *āṅgikābhinava*: every time this bit has to be re-created, it makes demands on the originality and imagination of the dancer or the director presenting it. The presentation is inconceivable without stylized dancing; the precise nature of the interpretation depends greatly on the talent and calibre of the individual artist.

The play has come down to us in two recensions: the northern and the southern. S. P. Pandit considers the interpretations (Pandit's edition, Preface, pp. 8-9, Kale's edition, notes, p. 92) of the northern edition. The passages referred to are in Apabhraṃśa and Prākṛta: these passages, however, contain some stage directions which are important for our purpose: they contain references to certain *rāgas* and *lavas* and to a number of dance postures. The following musical compositions are referred to: *āksiptikā*,¹⁸⁶ which is a kind of a song sung while an actor is approaching the stage and is accompanied by dancing and the beating of *tāla* with the hands. *Dvipadī* is another kind of song, perhaps, based on the Prākṛta *dvīpadīkhandā* metre. This metre is of four kinds, viz., *śuddha*, *khandā*, *mātrā* and *sampūrṇa*.

Jambhalkā is yet another kind of song in which each line is sung twice and no pause is allowed between the chorus and the next line. *Khandadhārā* is both a kind of dance and a tune in music. *Carcarī* is both a song and a dance, and we again come across it in the *Karpūramañjarī*: as a song it is a strain, sung by the actor in an emotional state in a high-pitched voice, in either the fast or the medium *laya*. The *Saṅgitaratnākara* also mentions this as a metre and a musical composition (IV. 292-93). *Bhinnaka* is the name of a particular *rāga*: *khandaka* or *khandikā* is a particular composition sung with gestures.

Carcarī as a mode of dance is explained by the *Bhāvaprakāśa*: it is used specially in the *troṭaka*: *khuraka* is another kind of dance performed to five cymbals, with a *rāga* sung in fast and medium tempo.

Kuṭīlikā and *mallaghaṭī* are two other types of dances. The *kuṭīlikā* is done without *rāga* or song accompaniment and obviously belongs to the *nṛtta* variety: it is a type of *tāṇḍava* dancing as it is performed in the *ardhamattalī*. The *ardhamattalī* is a *karāṇa* of Bharata (*NS*, IV. 88b-89a) and is described by the commentator somewhat differently from Bharata. In the *mallaghaṭī* all the three types of *laya* are used.

Galitaka is yet another type of dance which uses *abhinaya* and *nṛtya* both. Besides these a number of dance poses and postures etc. are referred to: *caturasraka* is a *sthāna*, and so is *ardhacaturasraka*. We have here a long list of music and dance compositions.

Abhijñāna Śākuntala

In the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* a similar atmosphere exists where the flights from earth to heaven occur through the gesture language. At the very beginning, we have Duṣyanta entering the stage as if riding a chariot: dummy chariots were permitted on the stage but from the stage directions we can easily infer that it was through *āṅgikābhinaya* that the movement of riding the chariot was depicted. The progress of Duṣyanta's pursuit of the deer is suggested by the charioteer's verse *kṛṣṇasāre* (I. 6): the charioteer's verse serves as a commentary on the movements of the king depicting the pursuit of the deer: then the king's verse serves as the commentary on the depiction of the deer's flight. The verse *grivābhaṅgābhirāmam* is a beautiful description of the movements of the deer, which must have been performed by the actor. The Suta and the king both do the *sūcī* type of *abhinaya* here, for the movement expresses the mood first and then words are used. The charioteer portrays the tightening of the reins and then tells the king that he has done so on account of the unevenness of the ground: the car movement is impeded by the uneven ground which is suggested by the Suta's words *āyusman udghātini bhūmiriti*, etc. (I. 7 ff.); the reins are again tightened, the slowing of speed is depicted through measured steps and, when the deer escapes again, he is followed by the glances of the hunters, and then follow quicker movements in a faster tempo: the verse *mukteṣu raśmiṣu* (I. 8) of the Suta and *yadāloke sūkṣmam* (I. 9) of the king indicate the mad pursuit till finally the illusion of arriving at a point within sight of the prey is produced and then the king enacts the shooting of an arrow. The pose he attained after this lively bit of acting was the *ālīḍha* prescribed by Bharata as a posture (*sthāna*) for shooting (*NS*, X. 67-68)¹⁸⁷. We can re-create from these descriptions a complete picture of this movement sequence: the king enters the stage with simple (*cūrṇa*) steps (*NS*, XII. 88-92) in a special *laya*. He starts from the *samapāda* position and goes on to indicate the riding of the chariot; one hand suggests the pole of the chariot and the other the bow. The deer similarly is represented not by an actual deer but by a dancer wearing a deer mask, furtively peering and frisking in fright: the movement possibly is the *hariṇapluta* movement (*NS*, IV. 144): the *karāṇa*

is derived from *atīkrāntā cārī* (*NŚ*, X. 42). A pair of *kaṭakāmukha* hands crossed at the wrist released or taut indicates speed or slow motion of the chariot. This *kaṭakāmukha* is the *kaṭakāmukha* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and not of the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and is used for drawing up reins, holding a mirror, etc. (*NŚ*, XI. 60-63). We have in this scene the minutest data for *abhinaya*; through technique such as this the venue is easily and plausibly changed into the *āśrama* without taxing the sense of probability of the spectator. The transition is indicated by the king's words *nīvāraḥ śukagarbhakoṭāra* (I. 14) and the wildness of the woods is changed to the orderly nature of the hermitage. While the king enacts through *vācika* and *āṅgikābhinaya*, the beauty of the hermitage, its trees and ponds, the charioteer goes on enacting through movement the quickening and subsequent slowing and final stopping of the chariot. The king alights from the chariot with a movement opposite to that prescribed for ascending of chariots (I. 15 ff. and *NŚ*, XII. 91-92).

After the meeting of Śakuntalā and Duṣyanta a series of stage directions follow which leave no room for doubt regarding the nature of this presentation. Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary on these stage directions is the certain proof of the prevalence of the rules of Bharata and their constant use in actual practice.¹⁸⁸

In Act IV, when Śakuntalā leaves the *āśrama*, all the verses demand *āṅgikābhinaya* constantly: a great part of Kaṇva's speeches is full of movement, and the vision of creepers, plants, streams, etc., is built up only through words and *abhinaya*. The seventh act builds up a vision of the sky and the king and Mātali riding across the sky only through gestures. Bharata prescribes the appropriate gait for moving in the sky and says: "gait of a character moving through the sky is to include the aerial *cārīs* and looking downwards: he is to move from *samapāda sthāna* with simple steps. The gait of one who descends from the sky is also to be of this kind."¹⁸⁹ (*NŚ*, XII. 92-95).

- Examples of this kind could be multiplied: the actor has to walk in a certain way, a special *sthāna*, *cārī* or *maṇḍala* to establish his locale: no signs, symbols or announcements are necessary and once the *sūtradhāra* has left the stage, it is through stylized movement with precise and stylized use of the space of the stage that the full meaning of drama is communicated to the audience. From these examples in Kālidāsa it is clear that by the time Kālidāsa wrote his dramas, the rules of gesticulation were perfectly understood and practised: the writer needs to offer no explanations for what he is doing; he is following an absolutely known and prevalent convention of the stage.

Among these conventions, second only to the important stage directions of *āṅgikābhinaya*, was the convention of the zonal (*kakṣa*) treatment of the stage. The stylized movements and the stylized acting alone could make this zonal

treatment possible: on a realistic stage, the Sanskrit play presents the oddest problems of divisions of scenes and acts, of exits and entries: actors move in and out of houses, palaces, gardens and woods freely and, what is more, they move from heaven to earth in the same act. To try and present all these on a realistic stage with stage decor and scenery necessarily leads the producer of the play either to do away with the scenery and props or to dispense with the division of acts as given in the texts of these dramas. The answer to all these difficulties is only one, namely, that the dramas were written with very specific stage conventions in mind, and, in order to present them successfully, any superimposition of the stage decor and equipment of the realistic stage is to ruin their flow and movement.

In the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, the *Vikramorvaśīya* and the *Abijñāna Śākuntala*, there are many interesting examples of this zonal treatment, which could only be feasible if the actors danced their way across the stage rather than conversed in a matter-of-fact realistic style. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act III) we have a fine example of this convention. The act opens with the entry and quick exit of two maids, who converse imparting information about the great love of the king for Mālavikā. The king and the Vidūṣaka enter soon after and we learn of the emotional state of the king. The complications arise now, for the king and the Vidūṣaka are on the stage: they are supposed to have entered the garden first. Mālavikā enters the garden later, and by virtue of this she is still outside the garden bower, and yet can be seen by the king and the Vidūṣaka: she cannot see them. Later the king overhears her laments, sees her being decorated for the *aśoka-dohada* by Bakulāvalikā, and is charmed by the pose of the *śūlabhañjkā* or the *aśoka-dohada* she must have assumed to suggest performing of the ceremony: the *sthāna* she uses for this purpose is the *aśvagrānta sthāna* (NS, XII. 172b-173a). The king watches her and then enters queen Irāvati who can watch both; the complication arises because the queen can hear the conversation of the king, who is unaware of her presence.

Such a situation could have been made to look natural, only if the stage was divided into levels or if there was an apron stage with a curtain in between. All that did not exist on the Sanskrit stage; instead, all this was indicated only through gestures. Bharata treats of the zones and the local usage in a full chapter. The treatment of the zones is invariably in relation and with reference to the three types of playhouses. Bharata lays down a general principle (NS, XIII. 1-10): "The zonal division is to be indicated by going about on the stage. When one is on a particular zone of the stage, it will indicate one locality and place and by moving off it, it will indicate another."

He says further (NS, XIII. 4-6) that the "utility of the zonal division lies in the fact that it is from this convention of the zonal division that one is to know (whether the place in which the scene has been laid) is a house, city, garden. . . . etc.: the zones should be fixed accordingly. The relative location of the place is

indicated by entering the stage earlier or later: according to the convention of the zonal division, those who have entered the stage earlier should be taken to be inside (the house, garden) and those entering later are known to be outside it. He who enters the stage with the intention of seeing the ones who enter earlier should report turning to the right." (Ghosh, M. M., translation, *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 239).

From the above it is clear that the zones were clearly demarcated and that it would be easy for the spectator to understand the transit from one zone to another. Irāvati in the present instance must have reported herself to the right before speaking, so that it was clear that she saw those who were already there, but when Mālavikā enters, neither she nor her friend report to the right. Thus they indicate entry but also establish not noticing those already on the stage.

An even more complicated situation arises in Act IV, and its swiftness is possible only through the zonal treatment. We have the king's part of the garden at the beginning of Act IV, 2 ff. There is the queen Dhārīṇī with her attendants; then the Vidūṣaka enters pretending to be bitten by a snake. So far it is simple and we can easily understand the going of the king to the queen with one round of the stage: at this point, according to modern conventions, there would be a drop or a change of scene, but none of that occurs here. The king dismisses the queen and her retinue easily and requests the co-conspirator of the love-game to take him to the *pramodavana*; without a change of scene they proceed to the *pramodavana*. The Vidūṣaka enters, tells of his success, and the lovers meet. At this point the stage is once again divided into three zones: the one where the king and Mālavikā are left to themselves, the second where the Vidūṣaka lies sleeping, and the third where queen Irāvati and her attendant enter and go around. It would require careful handling to manipulate these groupings on the stage and it is clear that the various actors must have utilized only their zone in movement, and would have moved only within these self-imposed limitations. The complication arises again, because Irāvati sees them together and they cannot. The Vidūṣaka does not inform the king of the queen's arrival. It is only when the king leaves his zone to save the Vidūṣaka when the latter calls out for help that he notices queen Irāvati. Mālavikā follows and the two by leaving their zone and entering into the second and third are noticed by the queen. In Act V this division of the stage is again indicated and this time the stage was divided perhaps by the indication of an *aśoka* tree, and all the characters gather round this tree for festivity.

In *Śākuntala*, too, we have similar examples of stage manipulation and zonal treatment. In Act III the king and the Vidūṣaka enter the stage: the king confides in the Vidūṣaka, soon after Śākuntalā enters and confides in Anusuyā. The king is on the stage and can hear Śākuntalā's conversation, but Śākuntalā cannot hear

the king's: the king continually comments on what Śakuntalā says, and it is on the basis of this that he comes forward. In Act IV, the impression of distance, of Anusuyā going from the garden to the *āśrama*, is all created through this zonal treatment and stylized walking on the stage: the lyrical beauty of this scene would not be possible if a realistic effect had been attempted.

In the *Vikramorvaśīya* such situations are frequent. The queen appears to see the king with Urvaśī in Act II. Act III is made stageable and the illusion of Urvaśī as invisible is communicated only through this stage convention of the zones and careful grouping.

Stage situations and their treatment is not our main concern at the moment; but these conventions could have been accurately followed according to the laws of Bharata only if the actors were trained most accurately and punctiliously in the laws of movement and *āṅgikābhinaya*: the actor trained only in speech could never portray the idea of zones and different moods effectively on the stage. From the dramas of Kālidāsa and the dramas of the later writers, it is clear that these conventions were known not only to the scholar-poets and dramatists but also to the audience, for it is with an eye on these conventions that the Sanskrit dramatist writes and presents his plays. These conventions would be impossible to follow without the medium of dance at the actor's command. The stylization achieved through these conventions is one which dancing, music and imaginative presentation have given to these dramas.

However, once we come to the specific *āṅgikābhinaya* of these dramas, everything else seems subsidiary. The gesture language is woven inextricably into the texture of Sanskrit drama. In Kālidāsa we find the finest examples, and, once we look at Kālidāsa carefully, we find that these are repeated by the dramatists who follow him. Indeed, the gesture language becomes stereotype in the later Sanskrit drama.

In Sanskrit drama examples of *āṅgikābhinaya* are of two types. The first is the accompaniment of *abhinaya* to verses in the play: these verses are sometimes sung by the character, sometimes by the other character, whose speech serves as commentary; sometimes they are sung or chanted from the background as in the *Vikramorvaśīya*. Invariably, the *abhinaya* in these cases is of the *sūcī*, *aṅkura* or *śākhā* variety, and from the descriptions of places non-existent on the stage and of mental states referred to, one can easily infer that *abhinaya* formed an essential part of this recitation. The spoken word was only half the acting, the other half being stylized acting through precise and codified movements of the hands, face, etc., and, in short, all that Bharata includes in the *vinīyoga* of the *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas*. We have already analyzed examples of this kind in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* and the *Vikramorvaśīya*. The other type of *abhinaya* is suggested through the stage

directions. These stage directions are a help to the reader and the actor, but more than that, they are an essential part of the drama, and the written drama is incomplete without them. From the commentaries on these plays, we can visualize, in certain cases, the exact manner of execution of these stage directions. Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* is a valuable source of information for this purpose: he gives us in this commentary exact descriptions of some of these stage directions. The clue to others can be found in the various chapters of Bharata. An attempt will be made here to correlate these stage directions to Bharata, wherever possible. But first let us consider those which Rāghavabhaṭṭa has stated.

In Act I occurs the stage direction *Uksasicanam rūpayati* (Act I. 17 ff.). This is performed by making the *nalimpadmakośa hasta* (NS, IX. 207): they are taken to the shoulder region, then the *avadhūtā* head movement (NS, VIII. 30) is performed; the body bends gracefully a little, the hands are then brought down and released. Then a pair of *śukatunḍa* hands is formed (NS, IX. 53-54)¹⁹⁰ and they are crossed at the wrist, finger and palms facing down; these hands are lowered, with body bending on one side, and then with a turn of the wrists, they are turned into a pair of up-going *padmakōśa* hands (NS, IX. 79b-80a); they are then taken across the breast to the shoulder region, lowered to the knee region and then released as if watering trees.¹⁹¹

Then a little later comes the stage direction 'Enacts the disturbance by the bee (*bhramarabādhām rūpayati*) (I. 19). This is shown according to the commentary by the *vidhuta* head (NS, VIII. 24, a quick movement of the head used in panic and fright) and tremulous lips (*kuṭṭana* movement of the lips, see NS, VIII. 144-46, used for pain, cold, fear, etc.) and the *patākā* hands facing outwards placed near the face: the head is turned quickly across in flight, lips quivering and the *patākā* hands move quickly in double tempo in different directions protecting the face from the bee.¹⁹²

Śṛṅgāralajjā rūpayati is the next important stage direction; this bashful love confusion is shown by *parāvṛtta* head (NS, VIII. 27) and the *lajjita* glance (NS, VIII. 66).¹⁹³ The *lajjā* stage direction often occurs in the first act: in this particular case the words *śṛṅgāra lajjā* specify the type of bashfulness that Śākuntalā exhibits and also set the mood of the act.

The stage direction *janānītakam* occurs often and we know from Bharata and other authorities such as the authors of the *Daśarūpakam* and the *Saṅgītaratnākāra* that it is depicted through the *tripatākā hasta*.¹⁹⁴ Sometimes Kālidāsa gives straightforward directions, which are also in keeping with the terminology of Bharata. The *adhomukha* head is used in bashfulness etc. Śākuntalā lowers her head in this fashion in response to the king's loving attentions (I. 24 ff.). Bharata's term for this

movement is *adhogata* and *adhomukha* (*NŚ*, VIII. 36), but both are similar movements. On the same plane is the showing of the fore-finger by Śakuntalā asking her friends to keep quiet. The *bhrūbhaṅga* of the eyebrows is also of this kind and needs no great explanation.

In Act III the pupil enacts 'hearing'¹⁹⁵ and looking at the sky: both these stage directions are simple enough and can be easily understood. Rāghavabhaṭṭa gives us further hints as to how they are to be represented: the looking at the sky is a technical term *ākāśya* used here for addressing Priyamvadā who is at some distance. This mode of address according to Bharata is employed in addressing someone who is at a distance and who does not appear on the stage. According to the *Daśarūpakam*, it belongs to the *nāṭyadharmī* convention. The hearing is represented by the head bent to the side and the eyeballs in a motionless state.¹⁹⁶

Soon after the king appears in a love-sick state and represents *madanaavasthā* (Act III, beginning). This love distraction is represented by the *lolita* head,¹⁹⁷ the *śūnya dr̥ṣṭi* used in anxiety, indicating motionlessness and *dola hasta*. Thus the whole state is represented by a circular movement of the head, with vacant staring and shoulders drooping with arms released in the *dola hastas*: a most appropriate rendering of this state of love-distraction and words come as almost auxiliaries to this physical representation. Rāghavabhaṭṭa¹⁹⁸ goes further and tells us exactly how these movements are to be performed: he also mentions an alternative to the *dola hastas*: the chin rests on the interlocked *karkaṭa hasta*¹⁹⁹ and this indicates the melancholy reverie.

The king is unhappy, he looks around, addresses Kāmadeva, the doer of all this; looks upward to indicate the mid-day sun: for in this heat of the afternoon, Śakuntalā could perhaps be found in the garden bower: the mid-day sun may be indicated according to Bharata by looking upward with half-shut eyes (*NŚ*, *Kāvyamālā*, XXV. 8). In this heat he goes to find Śakuntalā: as he moves he represents the touch of breeze through movement. Through his movements, we learn that the king has moved from the heat of the sun to the garden with creepers where the cool breeze blows: the touch of breeze he indicates by slightly narrowing down the eyes, raising the eyebrows and by touching the shoulder and the cheek (*NŚ*, *Kāvyamālā*, XXII. 77b-78a): this is perhaps also represented by horripilation, judging by what Bharata says in another chapter (*NŚ*, *Kāvyamālā*, XXV. 9) regarding the representation of pleasant objects. Here we have a very interesting example of *nāṭyadharmī* where, instead of blazing spotlights and subdued lighting and change of scenery, we have it all represented through *āṅgikābhinaya*. The king starts by looking at the sun upwards with half-shut eyes; perhaps, covers his face to show the hot wind, and then moves around the stage, has a pleasanter expression, enacts the touch of cool breeze and we know that he has moved from one place to another, (*parikramā sparśam rūpayati*).

Śakuntalā enters with her friends in this bower: she too is sorrowful and dejected, and thus occurs the stage direction (*viṣāda nāṭayitvā*): she represents this through an enactment of thinking (*NŚ*, VII. 104 ff.) a loss of energy and the like: the *drṣṭī* she uses for this is the *viṣāṇṇa* used in despair (*viṣāda*).

The king looks at her longingly, with *abhilāṣā*,²⁰⁰ and overhears the conversation of this dejected beloved with her friends. Śakuntalā lies on a bed here: it is possible that a real bed was used here, since the stage direction does not specifically mention that Śakuntalā enacts it; but it is probable that the whole scene was shown only through movement; and if the latter be the case then the type of lying down we see here is the *nāṭa* where her shanks are slightly stretched and the hands hang loosely resting, representing fatigue and distress (*NŚ*, XII. 234). It is from this graceful and effective posture of lying down that she tries to half arise in order to address Anusuyā.

The king appears on the stage; she wishes to go; he holds her by the hand, attempts to raise her face; she makes a gesture of aversion. The king's action is portrayed by means of the *tripatākā hasta* facing up and brought under the chin, the middle-finger and the fore-finger being placed near the chin. Śakuntalā's aversion is depicted by an averting head (*parāvṛtta* head movement)²⁰¹ and by folding lower lip in the mouth (*vinigūhana*) (*NŚ*, VIII. 145-46).²⁰² Here, too, we have a characteristic example of the *nāṭyadharmī* and an exquisite piece of *āṅgikābhinaya*. It is not a realistic depiction of advances made by the lover; it is, instead, a delicate suggestion made through hand gestures. The act ends with the king's looking up to the sky—this time to tell us that the clouds are gathering and the evening has come. The evening he possibly²⁰³ indicates through two *patākā* hands raised: these hands make a *svastika* (*NŚ*, IX. 135b-137a) and then separate: two *arāla* hands upturned and held together at the wrists: when these hands are separated from this position and are lowered making a circle, the sky, clouds and other such extensive things are indicated: the head gesture is *udvāhita* (*NŚ*, VIII. 29), used for looking up—with appropriate movements of the eye (*NŚ*, *Kāvyaṃālā*, XXV. 2-4).

- If one pauses for a moment to see how the *āṅgikābhinaya* has merged itself into the spoken word of the play, one is amazed at the way it permeates through the entire dramatic action. The indication of a change of time, of place, is all represented through gestures: the passage of time is represented through gesture. The mid-day sun changes through movement into the evening sun: the heat turns into cool breeze with gestures and the hero and heroine learn of each other more through gestures than the spoken word.

Act IV begins with friends enacting the picking of the flowers: this is represented through appropriate gestures by hands and arms. The *hastas* that Bharata prescribes for this is *bhramara* (*NŚ*, IX. 101) or the *sandamśa* which is used for

picking of a flower from the stem (*NS*, IX. 112-16). Rāghavabhaṭṭa, however, does not prescribe these hands in his commentary; according to him, this is to be represented by the left hand in *arāla* and the right hand in *hamsāsya*.²⁰⁴

The pupil enters and indicates the time of day through gestures: he has just got up from his sleep and, looking at the sky, tells us of the break of dawn.²⁰⁵

According to Rāghavabhaṭṭa, the falling of leaves is portrayed through the *tripatākā* hands near the eyes, and the putting of *tilaka* is also portrayed by the *tripatākā hastas*.²⁰⁶ They decorate Śakuntalā and the whole decoration is enacted: the *sandamśa* and *bhramara* hands are used for portraying decoration with ornaments; the *kaṭakāmukha* and *hamsāsya* hands are used for lac painting.²⁰⁷ These hands are not quite in conformity with Bharata's uses of these *hastas*, but the rules for the *hastas* are so flexible that the movements indicated by Rāghavabhaṭṭa would easily fit. According to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *kaṭakāmukha* hands are used for putting a necklace or a garland. The *sandamśa* is used for lac dye etc. (*NS*, IX. 60-63 and 112 ff.). The feet are decorated with the *kartarimukha hastas*, and, in this Rāghavabhaṭṭa follows Bharata.²⁰⁸

The entire representation of decoration is thus a short but lovely piece of mime. The scene has another beautiful example of *abhinaya* when Śakuntalā is stopped by the pet doe of the *āśrama*. According to Rāghavabhaṭṭa,²⁰⁹ this is portrayed by the *ūrūdvṛtta* movement: the foot with the heel raised is flanked behind the other foot, and the body is twisted. When Śakuntalā turns back to see, it is in terms of the *apakrāntā cārī* in which the feet cross, and one foot is in a *kuñcita* position. The whole movement would indicate stopping; the sudden stop and then the turning around to see the cause of this with appropriate hands represents the doe clinging to her (*gatibādhām rūpayati*). The *Nāṭyaśāstra* does not prescribe a movement for this, and what Rāghavabhaṭṭa describes as the *ūrūdvṛtta* movement is perhaps the *karaṇa* of that name (*NS*, IV. 159).

In Act VI, Sānumatī, the heavenly *apsarā*, descends from her aerial chariot:²¹⁰ later she ascends to heaven. She ascends by the *bāhyabhramarikā*²¹¹ and descends by the *gaṅgāvatarāṇa*,²¹² according to Rāghavabhaṭṭa. The *gaṅgāvatarāṇa karaṇa* is rendered in many ways. It may be done by curling of the leg behind like a scorpion's sting and *tripatākā hastas* held down, breast erect and the head lowered; the other way was the *viṣṇukrānta karaṇa* and *tripatākā hastas* held over the uplifted foot to show the Gaṅgā flowing: the third way is the acrobatic *karaṇa gaṅgāvatarāṇa*, as in the sculptures at the Cidambaram temple. Any one of these movements might have been attempted for showing the descending from the celestial chariot. According to Bharata, these *karaṇas* or a gait might represent the riding of a celestial chariot and the descending from the sky: simple steps are used for this, beginning with the *samapāda sthāna*, and, when mounting these vehicles,

the body is to be held up and when alighting, the body is to be held down (*NŚ*, XII. 88-92). In this particular case Sānumatī suggests a descent from the sky through the use of the *apaviddha* arms and tossing of the ends of her clothes (*NŚ*, XII. 94-95).

At the end of this scene, the king enacts the mounting of the chariot, and there must have been a difference between this mounting and Sānumatī's mounting. Rāghavabhaṭṭa, on the authority of the *Saṅgītaratnākara*, says that this is portrayed through the *ūrdhvajānu cārī*.²¹³

In Act VII, the king is seen in a celestial car in heaven: the celestial car may have been represented by a prop on the stage, but it is more likely that the gaits of the king and of Mātali represented their presence in the celestial regions. The gait began with the *samapāda sthāna*, and constituted the aerial *cārīs*, and most likely ended in the *atīkrāntā carī* (*NŚ*, X. 30 ff.). Like the first act, the first part of this act is also an exquisite piece of dancing and *abhinaya*, where both the *āṅgika* and the *vācika* are employed: through gestures of the feet they depict their being in heaven, and by the look of the eyes (looking down) they suggest the earth which lies vast and beautiful below. The king's words act as commentary on the *abhinaya* of Mātali and Mātali's words serve as a commentary on the king's *abhinaya*: they reach Hemakūṭa and alight from the chariot, and this descending from the chariot is also done with a *cārī*. Mātali draws the reins, depicting it through a pair of *kaṭakāmukha* hands (*NŚ*, IX. 61-63).

The enactment of the child's playing with the cub must also be represented through movement: here the cub was, perhaps, represented by a person with a mask, and the speech of the king (VII. 4.) draws our attention to this bit of enacting.

The rest of *āṅgikābhinaya* suggested through stage directions is of the realistic type and appropriately so: the king's embracing the son, his showing of the ring to Śakuntalā, etc., all belong to the naturalistic tradition.

• From this analysis of the stage directions, there can be no doubt whatsoever of the character of this play in terms of stage technique: the playwright obviously had the theatrical aspect of the play in mind, and the stage directions tell us of the very important role played by *āṅgikābhinaya* in these dramas. This tradition which manifests itself so clearly in the plays of Kālidāsa continues to the last days of Sanskrit drama. The stage directions go on becoming more stylized and it must have been easy for the early writers of regional languages to extract the purely *vācika* lyrical portion out of this tradition and also to compose lyrics meant only for acting purposes: the tradition in all the classical styles of Indian dancing, of doing *abhinaya* to the spoken word, whether lyrical or narrative, finds its origin in the drama proper.

Kālidāsa is also a master of *sāttvikābhinaya*, and the drama as it has come down to us, employs the *sāttvikābhinaya* to a very large extent. The blossoming of Śakuntalā's love is manifested by this type of *abhinaya* and is an excellent illustration of the *bhāvas*, *anubhāvas* and *vibhāvas* of the Sanskrit dramatic theory. The *sāttvikābhinaya* we find in the play largely centres round the personality of Śakuntalā and in her person we find the feminine grace at its best. The natural graces (*alaṅkāra*) of women are many. She is the innocent maiden, the *mugdhā* in the first act, and with the appearance of the king, her natural modesty turns into an adult bashfulness and desire of response (*NS*, *Kāyvamālā*, XXII. 23) and with the enquiries of her friends regarding the stranger who has so captured her heart, we have the grace *helā* (passion) which is manifested in *abhinaya* such as the *śṛṅgāra-lajjā* etc. Then we have a beautiful flowering of these graces: she has *kānti*, a fresh lustre (*dīpti*) and as the love grows the voluntary graces become more predominant and we see their manifestation in graces such as the *vibboka* (affected coldness), *vibhrama* (confusion), *vilāsa* (amorous gestures) and *moṭṭāyita* (manifestation of affection and being absent-minded due to the lover). It was a continuation of this mood that gave her the dreamy ecstasy of Duṣyanta and the curse of Durvāsā: in Act III she exhibits another grace of sweet reluctance (*kuṭṭamitam*) towards the king; the capacity to depict these successfully would make the *āṅgikābhinaya* of the actor significant and beautiful. Bharata devotes an entire chapter to these graces, both feminine and masculine.²¹⁴

The play *Abhijñāna Śākuntala* is not only a literary masterpiece but is also a perfect example of the dramatist's understanding and application of Bharata's stage technique. This general pattern is found in the other plays; a mere enumeration of the stage directions in the other plays of Kālidāsa will suffice.

The *Vikramorvaśīya* is a rich source of *āṅgikābhinaya*. In the Act I, King Vikrama like Duṣyanta enters the stage enacting the riding of a chariot: (I. p. 9).²¹⁵ The king portrays the speed of the chariot by taking a round of the stage in fast speed, and then the *apsarās* enact descending the mountain (I. p. 12).²¹⁶ This is performed in the *atīkrāntā cārī* (*NS*, XII. 96-98a); the body is held up; in descending the mountain one foot is in the *atīkrāntā cārī* and the other in an *añcita* position.²¹⁷ Urvaśī appears seated on the chariot leaning on the arm of the king and the king's descriptions of the earth and its unevenness are supported by their enacting.²¹⁸ Urvaśī and the king rub against each other as they alight from the chariot and, as they enact this, the charioteer enacts the stopping of the vehicle. The rest of the act has many examples of the chariot's movement—its being stopped, of the characters ascending and descending the chariot (I. p. 23). The *apsarās* then enact moving in the sky (*ākāśotpatanam rūpayanti*).²¹⁹

This moving about in the sky can be shown by any number of *cārīs* such as the *atīkrāntā*, *pārśvakrāntā*, *āviddhā* and rest (*NS*, X. 30 ff.). As the dance of the

apsarās proceeds, Urvaśī enacts being hindered by something: the whole movement is significant. Urvaśī starts her dance with the *samapāda sthāna* and performs a number of aerial *cārīs*, and then suddenly stops as if entangled by something: her garland has entangled itself with a creeper and Citralekhā helps her to disentangle it.²²⁰ The entanglement of the garland with the creeper would then be very similar to the movement of Śakuntalā when the doe stops her, with the difference that Urvaśī enacts the garland and its entanglement by looking back rather than at the doe: the garland is represented by a pair of *kaṭakāmukha hastas* held near the neck (NŚ, IX. 61-63)²²¹ and the creeper by the *sūcīmukha hasta* (NŚ, IX. 64-71a). The entanglement is shown by a conjured look and a sudden jump, along with a sudden stopping of the *cārīs* which the *apsarās* were performing. Menakā disentangles her and her movement starts by first representing the garland and then disentangling it from the creeper.

In Act II, the king describes the spring, and in his description of the spring (II. 7) he must have employed the appropriate gestures; thus spring is represented through enjoyment and rejoicing (NŚ, *Kāvyamālā*, XXV. 31).

Thinking or *cintā* is enacted by (II. 7ff.)²²² sighing, deep breathing and an expression of absent-mindedness (NŚ, VII. 77-78). Citralekhā and Urvaśī enter soon after and Urvaśī enacts being love-sick (*madana-vedanā*). This manifestation of love can be represented through *lalitābhinaya* of various kinds and the natural graces of women, i.e., *alaṅkāra*. The two friends converse for some time, and then Urvaśī decides to overhear the king's conversation with the Vidūṣaka: she decides to make herself invisible: she conceals herself with the *tiraskarini*: by covering the face with this veil both Citralekhā and Urvaśī become invisible and from this we also know that there is no need of their restricting themselves to one zone for fear of being seen by the king. They perhaps do not touch their heads with the *arāla hastas* raised from the sides, but if they were to be greeted, then the *arāla hastas* raised from the sides touching the head would indicate greeting invisible persons (NŚ, *Kāvyamālā*, XXV. 72).

• Urvaśī writes a letter to the king—which flies across to him; this letter writing is done by one hand in the *patākā hasta* showing the paper and the other hand in *haṁsāsya hasta*,²²³ showing the pen or the brush for writing or painting. This gesture is frequently seen in the contemporary *Bharatanāṭyam*.

Citralkhā removes her veil first. Urvaśī follows. With the removing of this veil both become visible to the king. These gestures would have to be accurately executed for the audience to understand that a character is invisible or visible on the stage. Urvaśī is called to heaven; now she enacts unhappiness and *viṣāda*. This is represented by deep breathing (NŚ, VII. 106-7) and by the *viṣaṇṇa* glance (NŚ,

VIII. 89, the glance for *viṣāda*): she leaves the king, looking at him longingly with both the *lalita* (*NS*, VIII. 74) and *viṣaṇṇa* glances (*NS*, VIII. 69).

The *bhojapatra* has disappeared, and the Vidūṣaka goes looking for it: he moves around the stage with *anuvṛtta* (*NS*, VIII. 108) glance as if to find something and with *parlokita* glance (*NS*, VIII. 109); combined with appropriate gestures of the hands and the feet, he gives the impression of looking frantically for the lost bit of paper. The queen has entered, has seen part of the goings-on, and has found the letter: naturally, she is in a rage and has a heated argument with the king. She leaves in great anger: she manifests here the jealous anger through tearful eyes, touching of the chin and the lips, shaking of the head, knitting of the eyebrows (*bhr̥kuṭi*), curling of fingers and assuming the *āyata sthāna* posture (*NS*, *Kāvyamālā*, XXV. 55b-56a) (*kopam nāṭayitvā*) (*NS*, VII 24. ff.). In Act III. 5 ff.²²⁴, the king and the Vidūṣaka enact ascending the stairs (*sopānārohanam nāṭyanti*). In ascending the stairs of the palace, the king and the Vidūṣaka move in the *atīkrāntā cārī*, and their bodies are held erect and they put forward their steps as if ascending the stairs (*NS*, XII. 96-98a). The king and the Vidūṣaka have ascended the stairs thus and can now see the moon emerging out of the darkness: the king looks at the moon (III. 7 ff.);²²⁵ the looking at the moon and the idea of night are represented by the outstretched *ardhacandra hasta* (*NS*, IX. 43-45); the eyeballs are moved upwards, and a *kuñcita* movement of the eyebrows is used to indicate the pleasantness of touch.²²⁶ The *ardhacandra hastas* are prescribed for the crescent moon, but, if the king wished to show the full moon, he would perhaps use the left hand in *alapadma hasta* and the right in *patākā*²²⁷ The king also enacts worshipping the moon, addresses it in various ways, one of them being, "as one who is ever present on the crest of Śiva." This may be depicted through the *ardhacandra hasta*, and the worshipping is represented by kneeling on the ground (*NS*, XII. 201 ff.) and a *adhogata* face movement (*NS*, VIII. 36): the hands are *padmakōśa* (*NS*, IX. 82).

The king sits down hopefully and then enter Urvaśī and Citralekhā, enacting the riding of a celestial chariot. Urvaśī wants Citralekhā to find out what her lover was doing at the moment. Citralekhā meditates to find it out. This meditation (*dhyāna*) is represented by downcast eyes (*avalokita dṛṣṭi*) and slightly bent head (*kuñcita*), the left hand being in *sandamśa* (*NS*, *Kāvyamālā*, XXII. 24). Both of them descend from the chariot this time with the *atīkrāntā cārī* and a *kuñcita pāda*. Urvaśī enacts being distressed (*viṣāda*), and, on hearing the queen's footsteps, she is again distressed and this time the *viṣādabhāva* has become a sorrow of a different nature, and she enacts *viṣaṇṇa* by the appropriate *dṛṣṭi* (*NS*, VIII. 69). The queen almost repeats the *abhinaya* of the king described earlier. She, too, looks at the moon²²⁸ and enacts worshipping the moonlight with flowers etc. The king repeats the *pūjā* and then holds his hands in *añjalī hasta*. Later in the Act, Urvaśī and Citralekhā again become invisible by wearing the *tiraskariṇī* and thereafter Urvaśī goes and shuts the eyes of the king: the king enacts recognizing her touch. All

this by itself sounds simple and a realistic depiction of it is easily possible: but in this case, it is hardly likely that Urvaśī really touched the king's person: she enacts it, and then the king in turn enacts the feeling of touch (*sparsā rūpayitvā*). The *utsaṅga* hands (*NŚ*, IX. 139) represent this feeling of touch.²²⁹ This would also be shown by slightly narrowing the eyes (*kuñcita*) by raising the eyebrows, and by slightly touching the shoulder, the cheek, etc. (*NŚ*, *Kāvyaṃālā*, XXII. 77b-78a).

Various *vyābhicārī bhāvas*, such as *viṣāda*, *śoka* and the like, are enacted in Act IV. Urvaśī sits by the pond, the pond being indicated by the two *patākā hastas*²³⁰ extended outwards, and the sentiment of *śoka* she expresses by a copious shedding of tears, a change of colour, etc. (*NŚ*, VII. 19 ff.). The king then enters in a state of love-distractedness: he addresses himself to the sky (*unmukha*): his gait is unsteady, represented through irregular steps; his body covered with dust and his hair dishevelled. He talks to himself: sometimes he sings and sometimes he laughs: sometimes he dances in joy and sometimes he stands still. Bharata gives an elaborate description of persons in this state and a reading of Act IV of the *Vikramorvaśīva* shows us how perfectly this description fits the king (*NŚ*, XII. 123-130). He would move as follows: "After moving in the *baddhā cārī* (*NŚ*, X. 21), he is to cross his feet. Then going round in all the four directions with this *cārī*, he is to perform the *bhramara maṇḍala* (*NŚ*, XI. 44b-47a) and reach the corner of the stage. Then turning round the *trika* gracefully and holding the *latā hasta* (*NŚ*, IX. 198) and with irregular steps he is to move and walk about."²³¹ In this way he addresses the sky and talks to himself, and does *abhinaya* to the verses recited on stage or sung from the background. He picks up a pebble to throw it into the pond, stops and enacts the *bhāva karuṇā*; to depict this *bhāva*, he would use the appropriate glance, i.e., *karuṇā drṣṭi*, where the upper eyelid is lowered, the eyeball is at rest, the gaze is fixed on the tip of the nose, and a tear is held in the eye (*NŚ*, VIII. 49).

In this distracted state, the king moves on the stage, sometimes walking, at others pausing, but each of these movements is executed so as to make a neat choreographical pattern. An artist unacquainted with the accepted conventions of the stage and the rules applicable in a given situation might have given a general stage direction and would have left it to the imagination of the actor to interpret it. Here everything is laid down, and the precise use of these specific movements alone according to the author evoke the appropriate *bhāva*. The king moves on the stage in a state of love-distractedness; he places his knee on the ground, takes a turn, and recites a verse: the formation of this pose on the knee serves as a kind of a refrain to the rest of his enactment (*iti natirtvā jānubhyām*, Act IV, 23 ff. and 26 ff.). This dance is performed in the *bhramara cārī*, which consists mostly of resting on the knee and moving around the *trika*. In contemporary practice one finds the survival of this movement in Braj Rāsa and in Kṛṣṇa's movement in Manipur.

This piece of *abhinaya* is a beautiful solo dance, full of a variety of poses,

cārīs, steps (*carāṇas*) and emotions (*bhāvas*). His steps move in rhythm and he employs various types of *abhinaya*, using movements of both the *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas*. His eyes and eyelids follow the hands, and Kālidāsa is careful in laying down exact stage directions for all these movements.²³² The king delineates the idea of sound, of hearing from the background, and the sound of birds calling by the *sācī* glance and by putting his hand to the ear (*NŚ*, *Kāvyamālā*, XXII. 76b-77a).²³³ He is tired and faints with exhaustion: this act of fainting *murcchita* is depicted by closing the eyelids (*pihita*) (*NŚ*, VIII. 117), by performing a *kuñcita* movement of the eyebrows (*NŚ*, VIII. 128-129a); the head is in the *añcita* position (*NŚ*, VIII. 32-33) and the hands in *dola hastas* (*NŚ*, IX. 148-49): the mouth and face follow other appropriate gestures. Through his words we know that he can see a precious jewel in a cave, and through his enactment we know that he has brought the precious stone out: the words and gesture of the king bring to us the visions of woods, rivers, mountains, creepers, plants, animals, and the rest: the *vācika* and the *āṅgikābhinaya* present such a vivid picture that there is no need left for scenery and stage effects, nor do we miss the absence of deer, peacocks, birds, and other animals on the stage. The act ends on a hopeful note: the king has found his beloved at last and they are seen making an exit.

In Act V, the stage directions of *bhāva* are common: the agitation (*āvega*) of the king is represented by rubbing the eyes, hurriedly moving from one place to another, and perhaps by weeping, too (*NŚ*, VII. 62 ff.). Astonishment (*vismaya*, Act V, 6 ff., *sarvey vismayam rūpayanti*) is enacted by opening the eyes wide, without a wink (*vismita*, *NŚ*, VIII. 61). The head moves to and fro in the *parivāhita* movement²³⁴ (*NŚ*, VIII. 28) and horripilation.²³⁵

The other stage directions of this act, such as the embracing the child, the child's entering with bow, etc., are like those in the last act of the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*, and are performed in the *lokadharmī* convention. The king's acting of *viṣāda* and fainting, however, is stylized and thus in *nāṭyadharmī*: it is similar to what we have described earlier.

We have already discussed the part played by dancing and *abhinaya* in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Besides the dance of Mālavikā, there are a few significant stage directions. In Act III, Samāhitikā enacts the plucking of blossoms from a tree; this may be represented by the *aśvakrānta sthāna* (*NŚ*, XII. 175-176), but the hands would be either *kaṭakāmukha* or *sandarśa* (*NŚ*, IX. 60-63 and 112-116). The king enacts the feeling of touch²³⁶ of the air, the representation of which we have mentioned before. Mālavikā enters in a state of anxiety (*cintā*) and shows this with half-closed eyes, touching the *valaya* (bangles), the *nivi* (the navel) and the thighs (*NŚ*, *Kāvyamālā*, XXII. 160): this is the second stage of love according to Bharata (*NŚ*, *Kāvyamālā*, XXII. 153b-157a), but she soon moves to the third stage of reflection (*anusmṛti*) (*NŚ*, *Kāvyamālā*, XII. 161 ff.). The king observes

her and his despair changes into the emotion of joy (*saharṣam*). This would be represented by the relaxation of the facial muscles and wide-open eyes, with a manifestation of the temperamental states like perspiration, horripilation, tears and the like (*NS*, VII. 92-94 ff.).

In Act III, the enactment of decorating Mālavikā's feet for the *aśoka-dohada* is represented through the *kartarimukha* hands (*NS*, IX. 39-41). Queen Irāvati's state of intoxication would be represented by unsteady steps, a reeling body and staggering feet (*NS*, XII. 121-122). The movement of her head would be reeling in *parlolita* (*NS*, VIII. 37), and her glance would be *madirā dṛṣṭi* (*NS*, VIII. 94).

In Act IV, the king is still in a state of depression because of separation: the Vidūṣaka has thought of a plan and he enters the stage holding his thumb as if a snake had bitten him. The queen, the king and everyone is disturbed. He enacts the effects of poison on him successfully (IV. 4 ff.). The (*viṣavega rūpayati*) enactment of this is portrayed by throwing out of the hands and feet and other limbs, and the effect of this poison is shown by a quivering action of different parts of the body and by closing of the eyes (*NS*, *Kāvya-mālā*, XXV. 104 and 113). Jayasena, an accomplice in the conspiracy, takes the queen's ring to cure the Vidūṣaka of the snake-bite. Cleverly manoeuvred, the king leaves the stage and so does the queen with her attendants. After this, instead of the change of scene the king, along with Jayasena, enacts the going to the *pramodvana* where he can meet Mālavikā. They take a round of the stage indicating this, but, before they can quite reach the place, they notice queen Irāvati and her maid gathering flowers. Here the stage is divided automatically into zones: the queen and Candrikā are seen at one end of the stage and the king and the Vidūṣaka on the other. The king, having entered the stage, can see the queen, but the queen is unaware of their presence. The king hides himself and yet can see Mālavikā and Bakulavālikā entering: the king sees her through a window. We have here a very interesting piece of the zonal treatment. The king and the Vidūṣaka take their positions back stage: they indicate a window with their hand gestures: the queen enters from the other side and, since she does not report herself to the right (*NS*, XIII. 10), she continues to be unaware of the king's presence. Mālavikā and Bakulavālikā enter from the side of the king and can see the king, but only after Mālavikā has indicated the opening of the door. Mālavikā represents the door by two *tripatākā hastas* facing each other (*NS*, IX. 35) and, with one *tripatākā hasta* and an appropriate step, she indicates entering in (*NS*, IX. 29a). She is angry. First she turns away her face with the *parāvṛtta* movement of the head (*NS*, VIII. 34) and then feels a little reconciled, goes up to him, feels shy, and enacts bashfulness. The king in turn enacts love-sickness. The Vidūṣaka cleverly whisks Bakulavālikā away to let the lovers be alone. At this point (IV. 13), the groupings on the stage change. The king and Mālavikā are in one zone, the Vidūṣaka in another (Bakulavālikā having made an exit) and the queen in a third, enacting the plu-

cking and gathering of flowers. Perhaps, a pillar suggested the divisions of the stage: this belief is confirmed by the statement that the Vidūṣaka is seen dozing against this pillar, while Mālavikā and the king converse. Queen Irāvati, along with Nipuṇikā, now enters the stage by taking a round to establish the fact that they are in the area of vision and not away from it. The purely visual effect of this grouping, with characters thus distributed on the floor space indicate the different areas of the stage. The Vidūṣaka babbles in his sleep, perhaps, by speaking indistinctly (*NŚ*, *Kāvyamāla*, XXV. 98), thereby drawing the queen's attention. A curtain and a pillar were perhaps used for this scene judging from the fact that the Vidūṣaka mentions it, and Bakulavālikā warns the lovers by entering and lifting the curtain in a hurry. With this, and queen Irāvati's discovery, all the characters now move centre stage and are thus in a common zone.

It is clear from the above that stage manipulations and directions of the kind noticed here could only be possible through a highly stylized technique. The audience, as also the actors, must have completely understood this division of the stage into zones and the gesture language was employed to present such complicated situations. This could perhaps be represented through purely imitative and realistic gestures, but then the distinctive stylized character would be lost. Kālidāsa is aware of these stage conventions and makes the fullest use of them.

In Act V (*Mālavikāgnimitra*), the dwarf enters the stage with one foot in the *agratalasañcara* position and the other in the *añcita* one. The steps are narrow and chequered (*NŚ*, XIII. 135-36). Mālavikā enacts fear (*bhaya*) by a tremor of the hands and feet (*NŚ*, VII. 34 ff.). The glance she uses for this is *bhayanvita* (*NŚ*, VIII. 59): the eyeballs move in *valana* (*NŚ*, VIII. 102) or *niṣkramaṇa* and the lips tremble (*kampana*) (*NŚ*, VIII. 141-42). The Parivrājikā walks in the *sama-pādā cārī* (*NŚ*, XII. 199b-200a) right through; and when in this act she sheds tears, these are represented by the *tripatākā hastas* (*NŚ*, IX. 32) and by rubbing of the eyes. Here the Parivrājikā's *abhinaya* is not merely *āṅgika*; it is also *sāttvika*. Other stage directions such as the enactment of distress, joy, fear, tears and astonishment in the play need not be analyzed again.

With a discussion on these stage directions, we have analyzed all possible sources of the dance in Kālidāsa: through this analysis, we have seen how dancing constitutes an indispensable part of this drama and how the spoken word is but a part of the whole. We have also observed that the character of these plays is determined by the part played by dancing (*nṛtta*) and *āṅgikābhinaya* in them. In the successors of Kālidāsa, this tradition continues, and we find that Harṣa, Bhavabhūti, Viśākhadutta and Rājaśekhara employ dancing on all the four levels mentioned earlier. Through their works and the commentaries, we can trace the history of dance and the part it played in drama.

Harṣa

King Harṣa of Kanauja (648 A.D.) was a patron and lover of the fine arts. Bāṇa clearly says that he was a poet²³⁷ and learned scholar: "his knowledge cannot find range enough in doctrines to be learned; all the fine arts are too narrow a field for his genius."²³⁸ I-tsing tells us that Harṣa "versified the story of the Bodhisattva Jimutavāhana, who surrendered himself in place of a Nāga",²³⁹ and Harṣa had this composition set to music and dance and had it performed by a company. From the same source, we learn that Harṣa also had Candradāsa's *Viśvantara* and Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* versified and set to dancing and music.²⁴⁰ He is also said to have taken part in dramatic performances.²⁴¹

The sister of Harṣa, Rājyaśrī, "gradually grew up in the daily familiarity with friends, expert in song, dance, etc."²⁴² Her tutor Divākaramitra taught her the doctrines of Buddhism and she became distinguished in her knowledge of the Sammatīya doctrine.²⁴³

The plays of Harṣa provide rich internal evidence of the author's knowledge of and familiarity with the art and technique of dancing and stage-craft.

In the *Priyadarśikā*, the captive girl is assigned to the queen: the queen is given the task of arranging for instruction of the maid Āraṇyakā: she receives training in dancing, music, singing and instrumental music (*gīta-nṛtya vādyādīṣu*). By Act III, she is so accomplished that she is fit enough to act as the heroine of a play written by Sāṅkrītyāyanī, the aged confidante of the queen. In this play, Āraṇyakā plays the part of the queen, and Manoramā, her friend, the part of the king. The play has for its theme the love between Vatsarāja and queen Vāsavadattā. Later, when the role of king is realistically played by the king himself, there are complications; and Priyadarśikā is thrown into prison. The play within a play is a common device, the divisions of the stage for its presentation here are interesting. In Act IV again, great histrionic powers are called for to portray Āraṇyakā's poisoning herself: *āṅgikābhinaya* in the *nāṭyadharmī* convention could be the only mode of presenting such situations.

In Harṣa's *Ratnāvalī*, there is a music and dance festival, which Rājaśekhara elaborates upon in his *Karpūramañjarī*. The play opens with a spring festival. The king sits on one side watching the performance of Madanikā and Cūtalatikā. The Vidūṣaka tells us of the nature of this dance: they enter the stage dancing the spring-dance (*vasantābhinaya nṛtyanti*). The maids enter the stage with quick steps, scattering flowers of various kinds, and with very little restraint, as they are supposedly under the power of *madana*. The king's speeches have told us of the general note of festivity in the entire city; and the sound of song is heard and scenes of men and women dancing are seen everywhere.

The enacting of the two maids gives a visual representation of this festival of spring: they enter and dance the graces of love (*madana-līlā*) and the song they sing is in the *dvīpadikhaṇḍa* (I. 12-13). This dance belongs to the *nṛtya* variety, for it has in it both *nṛtta* (dancing proper) and *abhinaya*. It has exactly the same basic structure as the *padam* in *Bharatanāṭyam*. The *tāla* of this dance is determined by the metre of the poem and is directly dependent on it (as it is in contemporary practice, too). In this particular case, it consists of two portions (*padas*) and each *pada* has 26 *mātrās*, being equally divided into 13 *mātrās* each. This differs, however, from the famous Prākṛta *dvīpadī*, for, according to Piṅgala, it consists of two *padas*, each *pada* being of 28 *mātrās*. The maids in all probability sang this song and interpreted the words through various *sañcārī bhāvas*. We know of the fast tempo of this dance, as also of its intense vehemence, through the description of the king (I. 16). They have danced with such exuberance that their long tresses have loosened and the decorative flowers have fallen off: the Vidūṣaka tries to dance with them, but not knowing that the song is *dvīpadī* and not *carcarī*, he comes back deflated and ashamed of his ignorance. That the *tāla* and the character of the dance were directly related to the metre is clear from this evidence: other steps could not have been made to fit into the song, and the maids familiar with dance naturally make fun of him.

This is the only dance-composition we find in this play, but examples of *āṅgikābhinaya* are numerous. The magician in Act IV (v. 10) proposes to display various celestial beings: by making various gesticulations (*bahu vidham nāṭya kṛtvā*) and by waving the feathers, he produces the vision of Hari, Brahmā, Indra, Siddhas and Vidyādhara dancing in the heavens (v. 10) (*vidyādhara vadhusārth nṛtyantam*). This vision could only be represented through *abhinaya* of the most perfect kind: through hand gestures and limb movements, the magician must have created this vision; and as he continues with his *abhinaya*, the king describes the scene as one in which he can see the nymphs dancing in mid-air (iv. 11).

At the end of the act, the impression of the palace on fire and the king jumping into flames is created through flawless and powerful *āṅgikābhinaya*. The scene actually constitutes a very effective dance-drama on the theme of fire and the rescuing of Ratnāvalī. Through words and *abhinaya*, this vision is created before our eyes, and the speeches act as commentary on the gesticulation of the characters. This portion is an excellent example of the *nivṛtyaṅkura* type of *abhinaya*;²⁴⁴ this particular type of *abhinaya* we find often in Sanskrit drama, and we have observed other examples of it in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

Stage manipulation in the *Ratnāvalī* is of the simplest kind and the author simply divides the stage into two. The king and the Vidūṣaka often find a place to overhear the conversation of others; the exits and entrances are so manoeuvred

that there are not more than two sets of characters on the stage. There is hardly anything new here requiring fresh analysis.

The stage directions demanding a knowledge of *āṅgikābhinaya* are, however, many: the stage directions relating to *bhāvas* and *sañcārī bhāvas* such as astonishment, joy, distress and the rest continue. We may now examine a few stage directions of *āṅgikābhinaya*.

Vāsavadattā worships the king with *padmakōṣa* or *mukula hastas* (I. 22 ff.). Sāgarikā's *abhinaya* of bowing and of scattering flowers is of a similar nature. She holds her hands in the *padmakōṣa* to show many flowers, and then a pair of *patākā hastas* moved separately indicate the scattering of flowers: with the *kaṭakā-vardhamāna* she bows to the king (NŚ, IX. 137b-138a). The Vidūṣaka accepts the gifts the queen gives him and blesses her: the blessing is indicated by a pair of *arāla hastas* (NŚ, IX. 47). The acceptance of the gift is portrayed through a pair of *hamsapakṣa hastas* (NŚ, IX. 107). In Act II, Sāgarikā wipes her tears with the *tripatākā hastas*, when her friend notices that she has been weeping in the course of painting a picture (NŚ, IX. 32). Susaṅgatā in Act II brings lotus leaves and makes coils of the long lotus stalks. It is possible that real lotus stalks were used, but, if not, this may have been represented in *abhinaya* with the *bhramara hastas* (NŚ, IX. 102) and the *naliniṣpadmakōṣa hastas*. By holding the *sandamśa hastas* in front, she could indicate the stems and leaves of these flowers (NŚ, IX. 113a and 116). The lotus petals may be shown by combined *catura hastas* (NŚ, IX. 69). Sāgarikā's love-lorn state is shown only through *mukhābhinaya*.²¹⁵ The agitation and fear of the two friends caused by the sudden appearance of a monkey is suggested by using a pair of *kapota hastas* (NŚ, IX. 132a); the *vibhrānta dr̥ṣṭī* would soon be followed by *trastā*²¹⁶ to represent confusion and fear, respectively (NŚ, VIII. 92b and 94b): the *vidhūta* head (NŚ, VIII. 26) would accompany these movements of the eyes to indicate the acute fear of Sāgarikā and Susaṅgatā. The rest of the act is simple acting, for the painting board (*citra phalaka*) is carried about and the Vidūṣaka's lack of restraint leads to complications, for it is through this that the queen knows of the love of Sāgarikā for the king.

In Act III, the king and the Vidūṣaka enter the bower: the king is in a love-lorn state and his movements are indicative of it: when he comes to the Mādhavi bower, he smells the sweet scent of flowers. The hand is *arāla*, the eyelids are in *kuñcita* (NŚ, VIII. 116a) and the nose is in *socchvāsā* (NŚ, VIII. 135a) and his *dr̥ṣṭī* is *ardhamukulā* (NŚ, VIII. 92a). The king with movements of the hands and the face tells us of the Campaka grove, the Bakul row, and various other trees (III. 8). In this act we have a very interesting situation which could be communicated only through *āṅgikābhinaya*. Having reached the bower, the king sends off the Vidūṣaka to get Sāgarikā. The king does not leave the stage; he sits in one corner in a thinking *mudrā* (pose). His hands are in *sandamśa* and his eyes are *sānta*

and *śūnya* in anxiety (*NS*, VIII. 65 and 87a). The queen and Kāñcanmālā then enter while the king holds this pose in a corner. They converse while moving to the front stage. Since they have not reported to the right, neither the king has seen them, nor have they seen him. Then enters the Vidūṣaka in the same zone and talks to them: the queen speaks in 'asides' to her maid; her glances are *śaṅkita* (*NS*, VIII. 68 and *NS*, VIII. 89a). After taking a round of the stage, as if making for the Mādhavi bower, they enter into the zone in which the king is seated and the rest of the action of the scene now takes place there: the queen throws off her veil and walks off in a fury. The king continues to be seated even after much imploring, all according to the rules of the *śāstra*, and what Bharata would call the *ābhyantara* (internal) etiquette of the king towards the angered queen (*NS*, XXII. *Kāvyaṃālā*, 1943, 142b-143a and 144b-145a). After this Sāgarikā, disguised as Vāsavadattā, enters in a state of anxiety and enacts killing herself. This sequence is a piece of effective acting: the creepers, the trees, the making of the noose, and the attempt at suicide are all represented through *āṅgikābhinaya*, in accordance with the rules of *nāṭyadharmī*.²⁴⁷ The king in turn further enacts the tearing off the noose from Sāgarikā's neck: recognizing Sāgarikā, his movement is that of outstretched arms to embrace her. The embracing is presented through *utsaṅga hastas* and the *nata grīvā*: and, while he performs this action, the queen and Kāñcanmālā re-enter, and this time they enact listening to the conversation by their gesticulation. We must, however, remember that they can only listen and not see. A creeper noose is the only stage property we know of from the text, and this is not realistically used.

In Act IV, the most powerful piece of *āṅgikābhinaya* relates to the rising of flames in the palace (all through the device of the magician). The king enacts putting off his cloak (*uttariya*), rushing into the fire, and being overpowered by smoke. With quick movements and jumps, the king tells us of his entering the fire; and then through the quivering movement of the *tripatākā hastas* he suggests flames and fire. This sequence is followed by a sharp stroke of the *patākā hastas* indicating the warding off the smoke. Ratnāvalī is rescued. She enters the stage in fetters, is released, and the illusion of fire and everything else is explained by Yaugandharāyaṇa; and on this note of reconciliation and happiness the play ends.

There is in Sanskrit drama always a situation which depends for its successful portrayal not on the words but on the *āṅgikābhinaya*, and this situation is the climax or the turning point of a play. The Sanskrit dramatist never makes the *āṅgikābhinaya* an accessory to the *vācika*; he consciously uses this stylized technique of *āṅgikābhinaya* in order to achieve the most effective stage spectacle.

Bhavabhūti

None of Bhavabhūti's (700 A.D.) plays contain dance recitals, nor do they deal with the *śṛṅgāra rasa* in the way the plays of Kālidāsa or Harṣa do.

We have an atmosphere full of pathos in the *Uttararāmacarita* and of intrigue, love and horror in the *Mālatīmādhava*. In these plays, no heroines come to dance on stage; very few characters portray *lalitābhinaya*. This does not mean, however, that Bhavabhūti is not acquainted with Bharata and that his dramas give no evidence of his familiarity with dance and knowledge of *āṅgikābhinaya*: he frequently uses technical terms from Bharata in his descriptions; the dances he describes are those of the gods rather than those of the courtesans.

In the *Mālatīmādhava* we have an extremely powerful description of Śiva's and Kālī's dance: in the prologue to the *Mālatīmādhava*, Bhavabhūti invokes god Śiva in the aspect of the *tāṇḍava*: here Śiva is seen dancing to the drum of Nandi.²⁴⁸ In Act V, the *kāpālikas* bow to the goddess Cāmuṇḍā and worship her in the aspect of the *tāṇḍava* dance. In a powerful description, we are told of this dance of destruction.²⁴⁹ We know of the violence of this dance from the various incidents described in the verse: in the process of dance, her nails pierce through the moon, and the nectar that dropped from the moon on the skulls around her neck resulted in a laughter, horrible and ghastly, from the skulls that revived. Her arms move about so that the serpents around them emit flames of poison. The third verse describes her whirls and violent turns, and the fire that emerges from her third eye. The fourth verse tells us more of the perfectly executed dance. The goddess danced so perfectly that all the ghosts and spirits, *vetālas* and goblins, began to clap their hands in *tāla* and appreciation, and Gaurī was so frightened by this noise that she suddenly embraced Śiva. Excepting for general words like *prāvṛttā*, *bhramarī* and *sambhṛāntā*, we do not have any technical terms here, but, as a general description of the *tāṇḍava* dance, it is powerful.

In the *Uttararāmacarita*, we have no description of Śiva and Kālī dancing, but we have reference to the dramatization of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Vālamiki. In Act IV, Lava tells Janaka that Vālamiki has sent a portion of the manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa* to Bharata Muni: this portion was written for staging according to the proper *rasa* and *bhāva*. Bharata is known here as the teacher of the three arts of drama, vocal music and instrumental music (*nāṭya*, *gīta* and *vādyā*). Later, in Act IV, we learn of Kuśā's returning from the *āśrama* of Bharata Muni. In Act VII, we have a glimpse of this dramatized version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is enacted on the banks of the Gaṅgā, and Lakṣmaṇa is sent there by Rāma to supervise the arrangements for the theatre. Vālamiki has gathered actors and actresses (*nāyaka* and *nāyikā*) and the *apsarās* to act this play. And then follows a moving spectacle of *abhinaya* which Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa watch: from this scene we know of the prevalence of the rules of Bharata in Bhavabhūti's time, and have certain evidence of the popularity of the theme of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the theatrical repertoire. This performance is not an ignorant performance of the epic but a learned academic (*śāstric*) performance, where Bharata himself has rendered portions of the epic to dance and drama appropriate

to the stage. The tradition of rendering themes, narrative, epic and lyrical, seems to have begun at this stage and becomes increasingly popular. In fact, it is this tradition of the epic, or of the narrative turned into the dramatic dance, which we observe in the contemporary recitals of *Kathākali*.²⁵⁰ All the dance-drama forms of the South, like the *koothus* and the *yakṣa-gāṇas*²⁵¹ of Kannaḍa and the *Bhāgavatmelā* of Tamilnad and *Kuchipuḍi* of Andhra belong to this tradition, where the epic is rendered into dance-drama. These forms, however, have not remained strictly classical in their existing manifestations, but their origins can be traced back to dramatic recitals of the kind mentioned in the *Uttararāmacarita*.

Bhavabhūti is familiar with the terms of *āṅgikābhinaya* more than any of his contemporaries: very often in general descriptions of people, seasons, etc., we see him use terms of *āṅgikābhinaya*. In the *Mālatīmādhava*, Makaraṇḍa describing Mādhava (I. 17) says, "His gait is languid (*ālasam*) and his look (*drṣṭi*) is *śūnya* (motionless) (*NŚ*, VIII. 87a). His body has lost its grace (*sauṣṭhava*). Here *śūnya drṣṭi* and *sauṣṭhava* are both definite terms which indicate his state of utter dejection. An absence of the *sauṣṭhava*²⁵² position of the body would denote his impassioned and love-lorn state. The sighing adds to this state.²⁵³

Mādhava, describing Mālatī to Makaraṇḍa, tells us of various glances (*drṣṭi*). According to Jagaddhara, the commentator of the *Mālatīmādhava*, the following *drṣṭis* are referred to (I. 27) : (1) *adbhuta*, used for *vismaya*, (2) *kāntā*, used for *harṣa*, (3) *sambhrūprakṣepa kaṭākṣa* for *śṛṅgāra*, (4) *mukulitā*, *śaṅkitā* for fear, and (5) *kuñcita drṣṭi*. The text itself does not name all these glances, but only gives us the movements of the eyelids, eyeballs and the eyebrows which tell us of the glances: it only mentions the *mukulitā* and the *kuñcita* glances. Bharata mentions all these glances: (1) the level (*sama*) glance where the eyeballs are raised in wonder, and when the eyelashes are just a little curved, it is the *adbhuta* glance (*NŚ*, VIII. 51 and 61), (2) the *kāntā* is the *śṛṅgāra rasa drṣṭi*; the eyebrows are contracted and there is a sideways movement of the eyeballs (*vivartana*); this is also the *kaṭākṣa* (*NŚ*, VIII. 47). (3) In the *mukulitā* or *mukula drṣṭi*, the eyelashes tremble and the eyeballs are opened in happiness: it is used in sleeping, dreaming, etc. (*NŚ*, VIII. 70). (4) The *śaṅkitā drṣṭi* is used for apprehension (*NŚ*, VIII. 68). (5) In the *kuñcitā*, the eyelashes and eyelids are both contracted, and so are the eyeballs (*NŚ*, VIII. 71).

The next verse also lists a number of eye movements. The manner in which Bhavabhūti catalogues these glances and movements of the eyeballs and the eyebrows, is amazing. In fact he is listing the various types of side-glances (*kaṭākṣa*), and from this list, as also from Jagaddhara's commentary, we see how elaborations had become fashionable. Jagaddhara describes the different *kaṭākṣāvasthās* and then defines three more *drṣṭis*, namely, the *viṣādinī*, the *lalitā* and the *snigdā*.

In Act IV (v. 1 and 2), the author once again parades his theoretical know-

ledge of the different glances and puts the speech inappropriately in the mouth of Kāmandakī. He mentions here the following glances: the *śaṅkitā*, the *jihmā*, of the *ardhamukulā*, or the *kuñcitā* and the *ekākārā*. These descriptions are accurate and he seems to follow the *Nāṭyaśāstra* fairly closely.²⁵⁴

In Act VIII (v. 1 ff., lines 48-51), Madayantikā, describing her dream, also talks of the various movements of the eyes: the movements are called the dance of the eyes and, surprisingly enough, the word *tāṇḍava* is used here. We find that the word *lāsya* is used as a synonym for the word *nṛtya* very often but *tāṇḍava* is seldom used. The peacocks also perform *tāṇḍava* not merely *nṛtya* (IX. 15): the peacocks who drown Mādhava's words in their notes also perform the *tāṇḍava*. It is significant how the words *nṛtya* and *lāsya* are replaced here by *tāṇḍava*. We cannot conclude from this instance that the distinction between *tāṇḍava* and *lāsya* was lost to the author, but it is clear that little distinction is maintained here between the different terms. Mālatī's perfect carriage of the body and her movements are described as beautiful and flawless: her training in these glances and movements has been dictated by a teacher of dancing, who is called the *nāṭyācārya* here (VII. 120). In the *Uttararāmacarita*, Bhavabhūti exercises a little more restraint, and thus we have fewer descriptions of eyes, eye glances and eyebrows. Rāma addressing a young peacock in Act III (III. 19) remembers Sītā as making the young peacock dance by the clapping of her hands: the peacock dances and Sītā gives the *tāla* with her hands: her eyebrows move vivaciously (*caṭula*) and their movements are like *tāṇḍava*: the eyeball movements of the peacock are circular and full of sportiveness. The movement of the eyeballs mentioned here is the *bhramana* where the eyeballs move in all directions (NS, VIII. 98b) and make a circle. This is an involved description but what the author seems to refer to is a circular movement of the eyes in which the eyeball makes a complete circle: the descriptions of the *tāṇḍava* of the eyebrows and the dance of the peacock are simpler statements.

Act IX of the *Mālatīmādhava* resembles Act IV of the *Vikramorvaśīya*. The lament of Mādhava, in order to be effectively rendered on the stage, would demand a dancing ability of a very high order.

- In the *Uttararāmacarita*, we have many examples of these stage conventions and zonal treatment. In Act III, the two river goddesses Tamasā and Mūrtā enter the stage followed by Rāma and Sītā. Sītā is invisible; thus, while she can see Rāma, he can only hear her: she comes near him, lets him rest on her, but to him it is as if he were seeing a vision: this is depicted through Rāma's holding the *arāla hasta* over his head to show that he is addressing an invisible person (NS, *Kavyamālā*, XXV. 72 and NS, IX. 46-52).

The stage directions in these plays are more or less repetitions of what we have found in the earlier dramatists. Flowers are plucked and gathered in both the

Mālatīmādhava and the *Uttararāmacarita*,²⁵⁵ with the *kaṭakāmukha* or the *haṁsāsya hastas*; shedding of tears and their wiping is common; they are depicted through the *tripatākā hastas* placed near the eyes.²⁵⁶ Enactment of touch is also common (*Uttararāmacarita*, III, 39 ff.). Rāma enacts the riding of celestial chariot through an aerial *cārī* (*Uttararāmacarita*, II. 9 ff.) (also Act VI) and the appropriate gait. Sumantra enacts the speed of a chariot in Act V (*Uttararāmacarita*, 6 ff) and characters speak words indicative of the transitory states with appropriate *āṅgikābhinaya*. Terms like *sahaṣam* (with joy) and *saviṣādam* (with distress) continue to play an important part. Very often Bhavabhūti combines more than one expression in his stage directions; thus there are stage directions, where the character looks with joy, pathos and wonder all at the same time (Act VII, etc.). Stage directions such as these are often of no help to the actor and they only confuse the reader. We are led to believe from these examples that the rules and precepts of Bharata were being applied here rather academically: and it would not be possible to depict the three types of transitory states before speaking one sentence. An interesting set of new stage directions occur in the *Mālatīmādhava*: these relate to the temperamental states (*sāttvika bhāva*).²⁵⁷

Mālati enacts paralysis of the tongue (*vākstambham nāṭyati*) (VIII. 7 ff., line 15). This is done by enacting a sudden motionlessness and pulling a smileless face with a stiff body (*NŚ*, VII. 155). Madayantikā gesticulates perspiration and other emotions (VII. 1 ff). This is enacted by wiping off the face with the *arāla hastas* or the *sūcīmukha* walking about nervously and restlessly (*NŚ*, VII. 156). Change of colour and trembling are also incorporated very often in the stage directions of these plays (VI. 11 ff.). Horripilation may be shown by the *haṁsapakṣa hastas* (*NŚ*, IX. 108) and by touching the body.

The plays of Bhavabhūti convince us of the author's intimate acquaintance with the *śāstric* tradition of drama and dance. From the evidence listed above we may also conclude that the author was perhaps trying to make use of his knowledge sometimes aptly, appropriately, but, occasionally, only for the fun of exhibiting it, even though indiscriminately. Even in erring against the tradition of Bharata, we are aware that the tradition continues to live, although ornamentation and departures were becoming common.

Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa

The *Veṇīsaṁhāra* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa hardly calls for any dance recitals or the lyrical *āṅgikābhinaya* of the dramas portraying the *śṛṅgāra rasa*.

The highly declamatory character of the play, half poetic and half dramatic, gives us a few instances of dance recitals, but the author, like other dramatists, is conscious of the art, even though he does not seem to have a detailed technical knowledge of it, like Kālidāsa or Rājaśekhara.

At the very outset, in the benedictory verses, the author invokes Lord Kṛṣṇa for blessing: the reference to Rādhā in this verse is to one who has lost interest in the *rāsa* dance on the banks of the Kālindī (Yamunā) and whom the Lord follows (I. 2). This is the solitary reference to the dance in the whole play, even though the words, *nṛtya*, *lāsyā* and *śāilūṣa* occur in the body of the play (Act I, v. 24, v. 25, v. 8, etc.). We also have a demon (*rākṣasi*) dancing with satisfaction in Act III (v. 1 ff.). In a powerful simile describing the battle field, Bhīmasena tells Draupadī that the sons of Pāṇḍu are skilled enough to move about in the depths of the water of the incomparable ocean of war, where the headless trunks dance to the accompaniment of musical instruments in the form of female jackals, howling inauspiciously during the gathering for drinking profuse blood (I. 24).²⁵⁸

Musical instruments, such as the *tūrya*, are mentioned in other places (Act I, Prologue v. 8 ff., Act II, v. 12 ff.).

Stage manipulation and division of the style into zones is also seen here. In Act I (v. 14 ff), we have Bhīma and Sahadeva on the stage in one zone, and Draupadī and the maid in the other. The latter group can watch the former, while the former are unaware of their presence (I. 14 ff.). We have a similar situation in Act II, in which king Duryodhana, enacting as though hiding behind the *śyāmā* creepers, overhears queen Bhānumatī's conversation with her attendant. The play on the word '*nakula*' produces a misunderstanding between the two. This enacting of hiding behind the *śyāmā* creepers is surely a piece of *āṅgikābhinaya*. In the same act, we have an effective piece of dancing almost of the *sūcī* type when all gesticulate the hindering effect of the whirlwind and moving forward with an effort. There is a vivid description by the king (II. 20) which acts as commentary on the queen's enacting; he describes the eyebrows (*bhrukuṭi*), the movements of her breasts, and the expression of her eyes. The queen covers her face with her arms and walks in chequered steps, executing a difficult piece of mime. After she has taken a round of the stage, the king walks into her zone by enacting entrance, and the queen reaches a place where there is no wind. The king, however, does not use any technical language in describing the movements of the queen.

Among stage directions, no new ones occur. We have stage directions in which the characters look at the sky and speak (*ākāśānī datta drṣṭi*) (Act II, v. 1 ff. and Act VI, v. 18, etc.). There is also the riding of and ascending and descending (V. 26 ff.) from chariots, and once "Duryodhana is lying in a chariot in a swoon". The charioteer enters and takes him away (Act IV, beginning). This could have been enacted either by Duryodhana really coming in a *ratha* with the charioteer enacting pulling it or by the suggestion of a *ratha* at the back of the stage; the latter is more likely; then with figure of the swooned king in the background the charioteer does the rest of the *abhinaya* of looking around, of being confused, etc. (*sambhramana*). The minor transitory states are enacted throughout and stage

directions like “enacts anxiety (*cintā*, Act II, v. 2 ff.), dejection (*viṣāda*, Act II, v. 12), anger (*krodha*, Act I, v. 19 ff.), bashfulness (*lajjā*, Act II, v. 16), joyfulness (Act I, 15), are found. All these must, of course, have been enacted according to the rules of *ābhyāntara* enacting (*NŚ*, *Kāvyamālā*, XXII. 72b-73a), laid down by Bharata.

In the post-Kālidāsa drama, a stock terminology *āṅgikābhinaya* becomes an integral part of the spoken drama; each subsequent author, whatever his theme and whatever the character and *rasa* of his play, employs it in the same way as he employs words and language. It is taken for granted that the feelings of touch, smell, sound, taste, etc., will only be shown through *āṅgikābhinaya* (*NŚ*, *Kāvyamālā*, XXII. 75b-76a, etc.) and through the rules of ‘basic representation’ and the ‘special representation’ codified by Bharata in Chapters XXII and XXV. The dramatist does not find it necessary to make new innovations in technique because the instruments provided to him by tradition and by the *śāstras* fulfil all his needs.

Rājaśekhara

In the *Karpūramañjarī*, we find interesting material on dance: here are dances, swing festivals and stage manipulations, where two or more scenes occur at the same time; pantomime is richly woven into the fabric of the spoken word.

In Act IV, the king and the Vidūṣaka ascend the terrace of the palace and watch the *carcarī*. The Vidūṣaka’s speech acts as a commentary on this dance; it serves the purpose of both a commentary on the exact progress of the dance and is a clever technique which does not let us forget that the king and the jester are not part of the same scene but are only spectators. From these verses (IV. 10-18)²⁵⁹ we gather many technical details of the dance. The dance is of the *lāsya* variety; the word *lāsa* (*lāsya*) is used for it (IV. 10a).

The dance is further described as the *daṇḍa rāsa* (Act IV): this dance may have something to do with the staff-dance of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,²⁶⁰ or, perhaps, the *rāsa* of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.²⁶¹ The latter, however, was in all probability a mixed dance of men and women, specially if we agree that Kṛṣṇa multiplied himself several times. The present dance definitely belongs to the *rāsa nr̥tya* type, judging both from its name and description, but it is difficult to ascertain whether it was exactly like the *rāsa* of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, as the latter also had couple formations in concentric circles: both these details are missing from the present description. This is also to be distinguished from the *ārabhaṭi nr̥tya* of Bāṇa,²⁶² for the *vr̥tti* that the present dance follows is obviously *kaiśeki* and not *ārabhaṭi*. Judging from the word *daṇḍa*, we are led to believe that the particular dance was akin to the contemporary *daṇḍiyārāsa* of Kāthiavāra and the *kollāṭṭam*²⁶³ of the South. But both these dances are performed with sticks, and there is no mention of the striking of sticks in the present context. It is unlikely that the *daṇḍa rāsa* has some-

thing to do with staff or staffs,²⁶⁴ i.e., either dancing round the staff or holding sticks in hands. It is more likely, judging from the name and the circle formation, that this dance belongs to the *rāsa nṛtya* of the contemporary *Maṇipurī* dance,²⁶⁵ and that its name is derived from Bharata's *nṛtta karaṇas*, *nṛtta hastas* and *cārīs* of that name. The word *daṇḍa* does not perhaps denote a staff, but the attitude and posture in which the *daṇḍa hastas* or the *daṇḍa pāda* are used.

Bharata mentions a *cārī*, a *nṛttahasta* of the *daṇḍa* variety. The *daṇḍapakṣa karaṇa* or the *daṇḍapāda karaṇa* or the *daṇḍa recita karaṇa*²⁶⁶ may be the dance movements employed in this dance. In the first, the *ūrdhvajānu cārī* is used; in the third, the *daṇḍa pāda cārī* is employed; and in the second the *nṛtta-hasta daṇḍapakṣa* are held out like a staff: the first *karaṇa* also utilizes these *hastas* (*NŚ*. IX. 202);²⁶⁷ the *cārī daṇḍapāda* suggests turning round one foot (*NŚ*, X. 44). The two characteristics common to all these movements are (a) a position of the hands in which the arms are stretched out diagonally on either side,²⁶⁸ and (b) the feet moving freely and taking turns on one foot. Both these characteristics would suit a *rāsa* dance of the kind described here. The women stretch their hands out on either side, pirouette and then move jointly in a circle. Another technical term used here makes this clearer: the word *bandha* denotes the circle formation and may easily be the *śṛṅkhalikā* or *latābandha* of Bharata's four *piṇḍi bandhas* (*NŚ*, IV. 295b-296a):²⁶⁹ the adjective *vicitra* qualifies this formation. The number of dancers is thirty-two, and their steps (*pāda*) follow the beats (*tāla*) of music. A very vivid picture of the *daṇḍarāsa* is thus created. We know of the movements of individual dancers and the collective formation of the group. The emphasis all through is on *nṛtta* and the quick *laya* indicates the fast tempo of the dance.

From the next stanza (IV. 12) we learn of a *cālī* dance. Here the women arrange themselves in two rows facing each other: their poses are clear and the formation is called a (*rekhā*):²⁷⁰ the shoulders, arms and hands are in a natural position (*sama*). The characteristics of this dance are thus obvious: the women stand in single file, move their hands and feet in the *samapāda*, *samabāhu*, etc., facing each other (*śāhimuḥa* or *sābhimukha*), and dance in an appropriate tempo (*laya*) of the proper metrical cycle (*tāla*).

The *sama* position described here is a position from which most dance sequences and dance cadences in India are begun. This natural stance invariably forms the starting point of all Bharata's movements. He, however, does not list a *sama* position of the arms or the shoulders, both of which are mentioned here. Bharata nevertheless, does mention the *sama* position for movements of the head and the hands.²⁷¹ The *Śaṅgītaratnākara* also mentions these positions.²⁷² The latter text also gives us a clue to the *cālī* dance. The *Śaṅgītaratnākara* (VII. 1215) enumerates ten rustic dances. The first is *cālī*; it is "not too fast nor too slow", (in the *madhya laya*) and is characterized by the simultaneity (*yauga pādya*) of the movement

of feet, thighs, waist and arms. The same dance performed in a fast tempo with dancers facing each other is called *cālivada*.²⁷³ The *laya* of this dance is according to the *tāla* and is in the *madhya laya* here. This group *cālī* dance is to be clearly distinguished from the second *cālī* mentioned in a subsequent verse (IV. 16); the first is a group dance consisting of graceful natural movements; the line formations of women is the most characteristic feature of this dance: the second *cālī* dance is apparently a solo dance, which the dancer performs to the beat of a drum called the *huḍukkā* and to the music of a flute (*veṇu*); this is called the *cāllī* or *challikam* dance. The swaying of the arms (*dola*) refers, perhaps, to the *dola hastas*: this dance is more in the nature of a classical dance, accompanied by drum, *madalam* and instrumental music: the swaying of the arms refers definitely to *dola hastas* (NŚ, IX. 149). This solo *cāllī* dance comes nearest to the dance named *cālī* in the contemporary *Manipurī* dance: the *cālī*²⁷⁴ of the *Manipurī* is the first dance taught and is both performed solo and in a group. In the group, however, two lines facing each other are formed, and the dance is performed either in a single row or in a circle. The characteristics of the dance, common to the description found in the *Karpūramañjarī*, are the graceful movements of arms, the slow (*madhya*) tempo, and the more or less natural position of the body. In the contemporary *Manipurī cālī* dance, the axis of the body is hardly broken and there are also a few fast movements: it derives its name also from the *tāla* of that name, which consists of eight beats and is done in two distinct tempos (*laya*). The above description does seem to have something in common with this contemporary *Manipurī cālī* dance, but it would not be correct to identify the dance of the *Karpūramañjarī* completely with the contemporary *cālī* of *Manipurī*. The Assamese *Bihu nr̥tya* is the contemporary dance which comes closest to this description.

There is a third dance mentioned in the festival. It seems to be of a general nature; it has no name. All we learn from the description is that it is performed with bells and is accompanied by vocal music (a song) and consists of a graceful (*lalita*) movement performed to the proper *laya* and *tāla* (IV. 17).

All these dances belong to the *nr̥tta* variety. Another scene of pantomime is also described, where the women enact a cemetery scene (IV. 15).

From these examples, we have a fairly good idea of the dances of the time: group dances seem frequent, and the idea of *laya*, *tāla* and music (instrumental and vocal) guiding and regulating these dances is also clearly brought out.

Throughout the *Karpūramañjarī*, there are words which relate to dance and music. There is, however, only one instance of a full-fledged dance scene with three easily distinguishable dances, viz., the *daṇḍa rāsa*, the *carcarī* and the *cālī* dance.

It is unlikely that all these scenes and dances were presented on the stage at

the same time. It is more likely that a group of dancers entered, performed their respective dances and made their exit; the others followed quickly. Other words relating to dance, dancers and musical instruments are listed below:

- (a) *Kuśilava*—(*kuśilava kuśolava*) is used for an actor (I. 42). We have come across this word earlier, too (cf. the *Rāmāyaṇa* etc.);
- (b) *Āsthanā*—(*atṭhaṇo, āsthano*) for assembly room (II. 3a);
- (c) *Pakhāujja*—(*pakhāujj, pakshātoḍh*) for drum (*mṛdaṅga*) (I. 4, line 10). This is one of the earliest mentions of this instrument. The *pakhāvaja* used in *Kathak* dancing and North Indian music is, perhaps, derived from this. The performance begins with the sound of this instrument;
- (d) *Miaṅga*—(*miaṅga, mṛdaṅga*)—This is the *mṛdaṅga* proper (I. 4, line 9); and
- (e) *Veṇu*—flute (IV. 6a and 18a).

The king and the Vidūṣaka in the *Karpūramañjarī* witness yet another sequence which is a significant example of *abhinaya* and the zonal treatment; this is the swing festival. In Act II, the king sees his beloved on the swing. Once again, the stage is divided into two portions, and, while the king and the Vidūṣaka stand on one side of the stage, the *abhinaya* of the swing is performed by maidens in the other zone (II. 30 ff.). Bharata²⁷⁵ lays down a general rule about the representation of a swing, and we must assume that the *abhinaya* of the swing was done to a general rendering of the swing movements (imitative in character, rather than suggestive or symbolic): the verses which the king recites act as commentary on the scene. The Vidūṣaka's beautiful lyrical description of this²⁷⁶ tells us of the movements of these maidens: the terms used here are, however, all general and none of them is technical. Words such as *vilola* are only technical descriptions of these graceful movements, inasmuch as the *Nāṭyaśāstra* also uses the term *vilola*, which was perhaps depicted by the *āṇḍolita* movement of the arms.²⁷⁷ There is no doubt that this representation of the swing was more in the nature of a swing-dance than a crude representation of a swing on the stage with a heroine sitting on it. The words used here for the movement is *bhramavata*.

There is a mention of dancing in two beautiful similes in the *Karpūramañjarī*. Describing the coming of spring, the king compares the movements of creepers to the movements of girls dancing: "the festival season of spring—that sets a dancing like dance-girls, the creepers that sway in the breeze"²⁷⁸ (I. 16b ff.). Spring comes to dance and sing; and the creepers that dance are like the dancing girls (not courtesans but any one who dances or, more specifically, the professional

dancer, *nartanī*). The queen also describes the spring and uses the same words. The causes and initiators of the dance here are the breezes of Mālābār who “set a dancing the creepers of the betel” (I. 17). From the text itself the Mālābār breeze seems less appropriate than *malaya*. For our purpose, however, the reference to the ‘professional dancer’ alone is important.

Stage manipulations and zonal conventions are employed in the *Karpūra-mañjarī* to create varied and interesting effects: these effects are hardly possible without flawless *āṅgikābhinaya* and a strict adherence to the zonal treatment. Without going into the details of how these scenes were manipulated, we may only mention here the acts where these double scenes take place.

In Act II, twice there are situations where the stage is divided into two parts: in the example mentioned above, the king and the Vidūṣaka are supposedly in the plantain arbor, while they watch the heroine on the swing.²⁷⁹ Again the king witnesses the heroine perform the *aśoka dohada* while he stands in one part of the garden: the heroine must have shown the *aśoka dohada* in the *aśvākrāntā cārī*²⁸⁰ (II. 43-47). Two groups thus act simultaneously (IV. 9 ff.). The king and the Vidūṣaka have ascended the steps of the palace up to the roof: from there they witness the colourful festival. The entire dance of the *carcarī* goes on while the king and the Vidūṣaka are on the stage, supposedly on the palace roof. Later in the act the progress of the queen and Karpūramañjarī going up and down from the garden to the prison room, along the wall through a subterranean passage, is a bit of a clever and highly specialized acting. The audience would have to understand the quick change of scene and place only through the zonal treatment and strict adherence to the rules of entrance and exit: with one mistake the whole scene would fall to pieces. Bharata lays down very clearly the rules of exits and entrances in his zonal treatment (*NS*, XIII. 12-14). These exits and entrances with proper *abhinaya* create the required effect.

Besides these, other stage directions demand stylized *āṅgikābhinaya*. In Act I,²⁸¹ soon after the Prologue, the king enters the stage with the queen, jesters and attendants; they enter the stage in a proper order and take their seats: here the king follows the hand-maid, and is surrounded by the Vidūṣaka and others (*NS*, XIII. 16).

In Act I,²⁸² the jester looks back by turning his neck (*valita-grīvā*). This *valitam* of the neck is the *valita* movement of the neck, which is used for turning around etc. (*NS*, VIII. 174-175).

In Act II, the king enacts as if smelling a pleasant odour: this is represented by slightly narrowing the eyes (the *kuñcita* movement) and the *socchavāsā*

movement of the nose (*NŚ*, XXII. 79b; VIII. 135b). The hands are in *arāla* (*NŚ*, IX. 51).

In Act II, 46, in the *aśoka dohada* scene, Karpūramañjarī represents embracing the tree by *ardhacandra hastas* which suggest the tree (*NŚ*, IX. 44a); the *vardhamāna hasta* represents the grasping of the tree;²⁸³ the hitting and holding the tree is represented through the *aśvagrānta sthāna* (*NŚ*, XII. 175-176); the *cārī* used for kicking the tree is presumably the *sūcī* or *āviddhā cārī* (*NŚ*, X. 33 and 38).

In Act III, Karpūramañjarī and Kurāṅgikā are about to enter the stage; the king and the Vidūṣaka gesticulate entering inside, so that they can hear her: this *praveśa nāṭyayata* (enacting entrance) would be represented by taking steps backwards and through the use of *patākā* hands (III. 20 ff.).

The stage direction *sparsābhinaya* (III. 23) we have discussed earlier (*NŚ*, XXII. 77a-78b). This is depicted through the *utsaṅga hastas* (*NŚ*, IX. 139), the *lalitā dr̥ṣṭi* and the *utkeśa* (lifted) eyebrows (*NŚ*, VIII. 73, 119, etc.).

In Act IV, the king and the jester enact ascending the terrace before the *carcarī* begins. This is represented by steps in the *atigrāntā cārī* (*NŚ*, XII. 96-98a).

In Act IV, Karpūramañjarī gesticulates, making an opening at the mouth of the sanctuary of Cāmuṇḍā and enters. The *patākā* hands raised and stretched, with fingers pointing downwards, indicate darkness; the idea of a tunnel and the door is shown by the *tripatākā* hands facing each other; one *tripatākā hasta* with the appropriate step suggests entering: all this *abhinaya* would, of course, be done in a particular zone, thereby establishing the sanctuary in the rest of the act (IV. 17 ff.).

In Act IV,²⁸⁴ the queen worships with the *padmakōśa* hands; the *muṣṭi* and the *haṁsāsya hasta* indicate an exit (*NŚ*, IX. 55-56 and 105). The queen listens to Karpūramañjarī through a *sācī* glance and the bending of the neck on one side. The scene of the prison room and the sanctuary could be executed effectively only through acute stylization. We notice here that the author carefully indicates the stage directions which provide a clue to the movements of these characters. The queen only enacts the making of an exit. She is as if making an exit and reaching the prison-room; the heroine, Karpūramañjarī, on the other hand, makes an actual exit—a real one, and here the stage direction does not use the word *nāṭitakena*.

In Act IV,²⁸⁵ the marriage between the king and Karpūramañjarī is presented in pantomime. This is portrayed through a pair of *arāla hastas* moving

around each other and their fingers meeting to form a *svastika* (NS, IX. 49) and with the same *hastas* the king and Karpūramañjarī circumambulate round the fire.²⁸⁶

The glances referred to in the text and in the stage directions are *tryśara*, *kaṭākṣa* and *sācī*: all these come from Bharata, but it must be pointed out that Rājaśekhara also uses some of these inaccurately.

Except for a few directions from the codified tradition, and a few inaccuracies and general statements, the *Karpūramañjarī* presents before us a kind of drama, which was very much akin to what is today known as operatic dance-drama. The literary merits of the play may not be great, but of its significance as a play, with a very definite technique, there is no doubt. Rājaśekhara himself tells us that his work is not a plain drama or a *nāṭikā*; it is a *saṭṭaka* (I. 4, 6 and 12): it is defined in the text as the play which “very much resembles a *nāṭikā*, except only that *praveśakas*, *viṣkambhakas* and *aṅkas* do not occur” (I. 6). Konow²⁸⁷ in his introduction to the *Karpūramañjarī* says, “the *saṭṭaka* in most of its characteristics resembled the *nāṭikā*, but was classed separately, not only because it was written in Prākṛta, but also because a distinct kind of dancing was used in it.” The tradition preserved in this form of play is, perhaps, an older tradition of a class of plays in which dancing played an essential part. We find the word *saṭṭaka* occur in the form of *saḍaka* in the Bharhut sculptures under the scene of the *apsarās* dancing.²⁸⁸ This word *sāḍika* or *sāḍikasa*²⁸⁹ is interpreted as an irregularly formed equivalent of Sanskrit *sāṭika*, which stands for a kind of a dramatic performance and is here applicable to the dance of the *apsarās*: the dancing and musical instruments seen on the Bharhut railing may not tell us exactly of a dramatic performance, but the association of music with dancing and that of both of them with dramatic performance is obvious. The type of operatic drama we find in the *Karpūramañjarī*, perhaps, grew out of the music and dance recitals portrayed in the Bharhut sculptures.

Notes

1. Wilson, H. H., *Rgveda*, Vol. II, p. 34.
2. Ibid., p. 262.
3. For other references to Indra as a dancer see *Rgveda*, VIII, 68. vii., VI. 33. iii, and VIII. 92. iii. etc.
4. Max Müller, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. I, p. 313; see his interpretation of verse V. 52. xii.
5. Max Müller, *Sacred Books of the East*.
6. VI. 63. v.
7. Macdonald, *Hymns from the Rgveda*, I 92. iv, and Kalgi, A., *Rg Veda*, p. 53 for two versions of translations of Hymn I. 92. The epithets and words used for this goddess are untranslatable; the nuances of words like *purāṇī*, *subhāgā*, *īvatī*, *candīrathā*, *vājīnī* are lost in English translation.
8. Griffiths, Vol. II, X, 72, vi. p. 487.
9. Translation by Macdonald.
10. *Nṛtaye*: the infinitive form is used.
11. Griffiths translates this as: "... eagles have sent forth their cry drift in heaven in the sky's vault the dark impetuous ones have danced." Wilson translates this hymn in an entirely different manner. The deities of the hymn are the stones used for bruising the *soma* plant,—the *ṛṣi* is Arbuda, the serpent, son of Kedru,—and the descriptions are those of the stones. The hymn becomes a sustained simile, in which the stones are compared to a hundred thousand men (X. 94, ii), who receive into their mouths the sweet (*soma*) juice and roar (like the caters of flesh) over the roasted meat. Thus verse four is translated as: "They cry aloud calling upon Indra with the intoxicating effused (*soma*) they took the sweet juice into their mouth, seized by the sisters the bold stones danced filling the earth with shouts." And the next verse as: "The well gliding stones made a noise in the firmament; they danced like the black deer in the stall." (Wilson, H. H., Vol. VI, pp. 177-78). It is quite clear from either interpretation that this virile dancing was certainly couple dancing and had vocal music as its accompaniment. From Wilson's interpretation we may also conclude that there was a circular gliding, swift-footed movement in the dance.
12. Keith and Macdonald, *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 429, for a detailed discussion on this word.
13. The commentaries of the text are useful as the details of the rituals are described there.
14. Griffiths: translation and commentary of *Vājasaneyī Samhitā*, Book II. IX. 22.
15. X. 19; three strides of Viṣṇu are mentioned here, too.
16. This sounding of sixteen or seventeen drums is the beginning of the Nāṇḍi in the Sanskrit drama, where sixteen drums are sounded. To this day such drum beating is seen in the beginning of an orthodox *Kathakali* performance and in some kinds of *Nāga* dances.
17. Griffiths' translation, IX, v. 22, p. 89.
18. See Griffiths, *Rgveda* VII, 11, translation, p. 253. He calls this and the subsequent ceremony revolting.
19. Translation by Griffiths.
20. Translation by Macdonell, XII. 1. 41.
21. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VI. 27, where the nature of art creation is discussed. Also *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, III. 2. 6, where "Prajāpati the year, emanating offspring was disintegrated (*vyaśraṇṣata*) he reintegrated himself (*ātmānam samabodhayat*) by means of the metres (*chandobhūḥ*)" and *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, III, 2, where initiation is called metrical transformation (*dikṣitaśchandāṁsyeva abhisambharat*). In these passages the spiritual significance of the rhythm in art is plainly asserted. Conversely, they are also of interest in connection with the problem of the origins of art, all rhythm corresponding in the last analysis to cosmic rhythm: see *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, I, 35, 7.
22. *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, I, 1. 25.
23. *Kena Upaniṣad*, I, V. 1-3.
24. *Devajñāna Vidyā* is interpreted by Śaṅkara as the science of making essences, of dancing, singing, music, architecture, etc. Hume translates it as the "Fine Arts". For further interpretation see Faddegon, B., *Acta Orientalia* 4. 42-54.
25. In VII. I. 3, the difference between *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* is made; *Vedic Index* discusses this fully.
26. For references in the *Upaniṣads*, which have a bearing on aesthetic theory of the Hindus, see *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, I. 4. 10, where it is said that the true knowledge of an object is not obtained by merely empirical observation or reflex registration (*pratyakṣa*) but only when the knower and the known, the seer and the seen meet in an act transcending distinction. etc. This has a direct bearing on the stress on the "state of being" rather than "one of action" in the Indian Arts. See also *ibid.*, III. 3. 32. The conception of god as the supreme artist, as representing the perfection toward which human art tends, has played an important part in Indian aesthetics: the artist consequently slaves in the timeless activity of the god. The idea

- of the necessary disappearance of the perfected being finds its place in all metaphysical systems. See *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VIII. 13.
27. See also concept of the space in the heart (*antarhṛdaya ākāśa*) (ibid., VIII, 1 and 1-3) —and *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, V. 3, etc. For other references to related concepts, see *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*, I. 3, and *Praśna Upaniṣad*, VI, 5, for three modes of perception etc. A different conception is seen in *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, I, 4, 17. Coomaraswamy has discussed this aspect fully in many of his studies,—*Transformation of Nature in Art in Dance of Śiva* and in the introduction to *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*.
 28. For a detailed enumeration of these customs see *Hindu Ritual and Customs*, also Dvivedi, Hazārī Prasad, *Prācīna Bhārata ke Kalātmaka Vinoda*, where he gives a fine description of the domestic life of the people.
 29. For discussion on musical instruments see *Indian Culture*, Vol. April 1938—Music Culture in the Rāmāyaṇa by Dharma P. C.
 30. Cf. commentary to *Rāmāyaṇa*, Tilaka, p. 295, where *laya* is used. The *sampa tāla* is perhaps the ancient *jhampa tāla* and modern *jhapa tāla*.
 31. *Mahābhārata*, Section 43. *Indralokagamana Parva*, V. 28-32.
 32. *Mahābhārata*, *Vana Parva*, CH. 44. verses 25-27.
 33. *Mahābhārata*, *Virāṭa Parva*. CH. 11.
 34. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Vol. IV, p. 323 ff. (footnote to the *rāsa* dance) (translation by Wilson).
 35. In the *Rgveda*, the dance of Kṛṣṇa is not referred to. The passage literally means: "The 'being' (One) assumes various bodies: One form stood apart occupying triple observance."
 36. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, IV. 293b-294a discussion on types of *piṇḍis*.
 37. See Kakati, "The Rāsa dance and the Moon Myth and the Emergence of the Rādhā", *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, Vol. 2. No. 1, 1951, for discussion on the significance of the *rāsa*.
 38. Also see *hallisa* as mentioned in Bhāsa's *Bālacarita*.
 39. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Book V, CH. XIII, (Wilson, Vol. IV, p. 323 ff.).
 40. Four readings are found of this, and technical phrases that refer to *tāla* are indicated.
 41. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Book V, CH. XIII and V, 46b.
 42. Ibid., p. 328 (footnote).
 43. *Śrīmad Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (X Section XXXIII v, 2 ff.)
 44. Wilson's translation *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Vol. IV.
 45. See Keith, *Āpastamba and Bahvrca Brāhmaṇa*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, p. 498. See also *Annapada Sūtra*, IV, 5, etc. and Weber *Indische Studien*: 156 Indian Literature, 197,—who compares the *naṭa-sūtras* of Pāṇini to those in the *Brāhmaṇas* etc. Also V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 338.
 46. Cf. also to Kaiyaṭa the commentator of Patañjali and Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 32-33. Cf. also *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 30, 8 and II, 69, 4, and II, 1, 27 where the word *Śailūṣa* is mentioned.
 47. Also see *Mahābhāṣya*, VI. 3. 43, where the dancing of women is described. Also see Puri, B. N., *India in the Time of Patañjali*, pp. 110, 218-220.
 48. Agrawala, V. S., *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 168.
 49. See Bharhut inscription where *saḍakam* and *sammadam* etc. occur. Also Levi, Sylvain, *Le Theatre Indien*, Paris, 1890, II, 5, for origin of the *saṭṭaka*.
 50. *Tūrya*, according to the *Jātakas*, consisted of a female lyre player, a hand-clapper, a cymbalist, a taborer, and a flute player. See *Nidāna-Kathā Jātaka*, I, 32.
 51. See *Rāmāyaṇa* where the term '*pāṇi-vādaka*' occurs.
 52. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, edited by R. Syamasastri, Book II, CH. 27, p. 125: quotation from Sastry's translation, pp. 155-56.
 53. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, R. Syamasastri's edition, Book II, CH. 27, p. 125, translation, p. 155.
 54. Compare this with Pāṇini and Patañjali where *naṭa* is the only word used.
 55. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Book IV, CH. I.
 56. Kauṭilya Book II, CH. XXIII (Syamasāstry's translation, p. 140).
 57. *Milinda Pañha*, I, 191; *Jātaka* II, 12; *Jātaka* VI, 191; *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, CH. III. Also see Manu III. 155, 158; Manu IV. 214; Manu XII. 45; and Manu X. 22. Bodhāyana, I. 5. 24; Vāsisṭha, III, 3; Viṣṇu, L, 14.
 58. Other texts consider dancing as indiscipline and forbid the *Brahmacārī* to take part in it: see *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* also *Hārta*, III, 8; *Uśana* III, 17, *Vyās* I. 28. *Sāmkhya* III, 12; *Viṣṇu* XXVIII. 11, Manu II. 178. He is also asked to avoid singing,—*Hārta* III, 8; *Uśana* III, 20; *Vyās* I, 28; *Sāmkhya* III, 12; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, XXVIII, 11; Manu II, 178.
 59. The *Triṣaṣṭīśalākā puruṣacarita*, I, 2, 950 ff. (Gaekwar's Oriental Series, L, 1, 152) lists only five arts (*śilpa*), viz., "those of the potter, architect, painter, weaver and barber".
 60. Book VI, CH. I, verses 14 ff. Also see *Kāmasūtra*, Book VII, CH. I, verse 20.
 61. Ibid., Book VII, CH. I, 23-24.
 62. Ibid., Book I, CH. IV, 35-36.

63. Translation by Binoy Kumar Sarkar.
64. Translation by Binoy Kumar Sarkar. The *Śukranītisāra* also gives us some very definite statements of aesthetic principles in the passages dealing with the making of images (CH. IV, verse 70 ff.). In all these portions the author is propounding a purely scholastic and hieratic conception of what is lovely and beautiful, thereby convincing us that the inspiration of Indian Art really proceeds from a more or less religious scholasticism that implies a traditional classification of types established by convention. The validity of personal and individual taste is hardly ever admitted in any academic discussion of the Arts.
65. For a detailed discussion on the sixty-four arts, see Dr. Venkatasubbiah's scholarly work *The Sixty-four Arts and Crafts* (Adyar, 1911). Also see Venkatasubbiah and E. Muller, "The Kalas", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1914). Also see, Ganguli, *The Sixty Four Arts*.
66. Amarakośa I, 7 & 10.
67. Also see Kālidāsa, *Raghuvamśa*, Canto XIX, where these are mentioned.
68. Ibid., I. 7. 16.
69. *Buddhist Legends*, Burningham, Vol. I, Book XVII, *kodha vagga* story.
70. Ibid., Book XXVI, story 32.
71. Fausball; *Jātaka* II, p. 328; V. p. 249.
72. Refer to *Jātakas*, I, 239; III, 18 and 237 and IV, 237.
73. *Mahāvastu*, Vol. II, translated by Jones, J. J. P. 139 and p. 148.
74. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 155.
75. *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, p. 135 and 183; Vol. II, p. 71 and 156 and 105, etc. (translation by J. J. Jones).
76. *Vinaya Texts*, Part II, p. 171 and 172. Also see *ibid*, IV. 6 for classification of *śilpa* (vocational arts).
77. *Lalitavistara*; Arts Number, 36, 37, 41 and 42.
78. See *Lalitavistara*, Mitra R. L.'s edition, p. 252.
79. Also mentioned in the *Rāmāyana*.
80. Ibid., Mitra. R. L., XII. pp. 199-200. Also see Weber, *Dramatic History of the World*, where he says, "In the *Lalitavistara* apropos of the testing of Buddha in the various science, *nāṭya*, most undoubtedly, is taken in the sense of mimetic art."
81. *Milinda Panha*, I, 6 (sikkhā . . . etc).
82. Luder's translation of *Śāriputra-Prakarana*: the last chapter describes a philosophic dialogue between the Buddha and Śāriputra.
83. Translated into Chinese, 3rd century A.D
84. Bimbisāra, the king of the Magadhas, also had a drama performed in honour of a pair of Nāga kings.
85. Takakusu's *I-tsing*, p. 163.
86. Ibid, p. 165.
87. For other references to the professional actor, see *Milinda Panha*, I, 191, also *Jātaka* II, 12; *Jātaka* IV, 191, etc.
88. The following Jaina texts deal with the 72 *kalūs*. *Nāyadhammakahā*, 1 (N. N. Vaidya's edition, p. 12); *Samavāyāṅga* (Ahmedabad edition, p. 77a); *Ovaṇya* (Surat second, p. 40); *Rāyapaṣenīya* (Ahmedabad, p. 211); *Jamubuddhivapannatti* (Santichandra, Bombay, 1920), p. 136 ff. For discussion on these, see the following articles and books; Sen, Amulyachandra, *Social Life in Jaina Literature*, *Calcutta Review*, March 1933, p. 364 ff; Bhagavāna Mahāvira in *Dharmakathao*, p. 193 ff; Das Gupta, D. C, *Jain System of Education*, p. 74.
- The following subjects in music and dancing are mentioned in these texts: dancing (*naṭṭa*), singing (*gāya*), instrumental music (*vādyā*), vocal music (*saragāya*), drum music (*mukkhara-gāya*) and *samatala*. For discussion see Jain, Jagdish Chandra, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jaina Canons*, p. 172 ff.
- 89. Agrawala, V. S., *Battīsa Prakāra ki Nāṭya Vidhi*, in *Bihar Theatre*, No. 3, Jan. 1954, pp. 35-39.
90. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, CH. XI dealing with *maṇḍala*.
91. Jain, Jagdish Chandra, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons*, p. 185.
92. This, if we agree to interpret *ārbhaḍi* as the *Nāṭyaśāstra ārbhaḍi*.
93. Jain, J. C., *Life in Ancient India according to Jaina Canons*; he lists the varieties.
94. III, 4106 ff. and 1-2443 f 2085.
95. i.e., technical in so far as the phraseology of Bharata is employed.
96. Also see *Lalitavistara*, 252-258; *Mahāvastu*, Jones J. J.'s translation, Vol. II. p. 155. Other instruments are mentioned there.
97. *Lalita bhāva* is not one of the transitory emotions (*vyābhicarī bhāvas*) but is related to *rati* and *śṛṅgāra*. Also see *Nāṭyaśāstra*, IV, 25. It is, however, included in the ten natural graces (*alan-kāra*) of women. *Lalita*, where 'graceful movement of hands, feet, brows, eyes, lips, etc. are made by women' (NS, *Kāvya-mālā* 1894 edition, CH. XXII. 22). It is also mentioned under 'Basic Representations' (*sāmānyābhinaya*) where in describing *Helā*, the phrase '*lalitābhinaya*'

is used: "Emotion which depends on the erotic sentiment and expresses itself in graceful movements (*lalitābhinaya*) is called *helā* (passion)" (*NS, Kāvyaṃālā*, 1894 ed., XXII. 11, Ghosh, M. M. translation. p. 441).

98. Cf. Joglekar K. M.'s edition of *Buddhacaritam*, p. 26; Canto II, 31.
99. For other reference to *dr̥ṣṭi* in the *Buddhacaritam* see IV. 6; IV. 7 and IV. 37.
100. *Nāṭyaśāstra, Kāvyaṃālā*. 1894 edition, XXII. 17.
101. Technical references found here are discussed later.
102. Cf. Canto XVI, 12—where Kuśa is told that in this city (Ayodhyā), where the sound of *mṛdanga* was heard, now jackals cry.
103. Ramachandran, K. V., *Music and Dance in Kālidāsa*, p. 7. He quotes an extract from Dr. Kunst: "Chiblon is the rhythmic beating with the hand in different ways either with the crooked or flat of hand on and in the water, the chiblon has also given its name to certain ways of drum playing: thus the chiblon became afterwards the name of one of the drum forms."
104. In the *Rtusamhāra*, trees, creepers, peacocks, swans dance in different seasons: the trees dance in autumn (Canto III, 10) and the peacocks rejoice in the rainy season. The peacocks rejoice with the seasons. See:
 Ibid., Canto II, 3-5.
 Ibid., Canto II, 14.
 Ibid., Canto II, 16.
 Ibid., Canto II, 19.
 In the *Raghuvamśa* Aja is told that with Indumatī he will watch the peacocks dance in the rains (Canto VI, 51). But when love ceases and the union is destroyed the peacock stops dancing. Thus, in the *Rāmāyaṇa* when Sītā is abandoned, the trees, the flowers, the deer all weep and the peacocks cease to dance. Nature responds to Sītā's tragic fate (Canto XIV, 69).
 The spirit of Ayodhyā, addressing Kuśa, says to him, "The peacocks have stopped dancing here, and they have become wild" (*R.V. XVI*, 12-14).
 In the *Kumārasambhava* the army of the *devas* is described: "The dust that arose from the feet of the army seemed to the swans and the peacocks like rain clouds: the swans went to the Mānasarovara and the peacocks gleefully danced (*sānandamanartī kekibhiḥ*) (Canto XIV, 35). "The domestic peacocks will dance"—*Meghadūta* (*Pūrva Megha*, 36) "to welcome the messenger" (*nṛtyopahāra*).
105. See Monier-Williams, p. 899. *Lāsaka* later came to mean a *tāṇḍava* dancer; see later Bāna's *Harṣacarita*.
106. *Meghadūta*—*Pūrva Megha*, v. 38-39 and *Nāṭyaśāstra*, VIII. 99.
107. Also *Rtusamhāra*, Canto II, 3, 4 and 6 the peacocks dance hearing the drum of the clouds the *mardala* is the percussion instrument here (cf. the *maddalam* of *Kathakali* and the *khol* of *Manipurī* dancing today).
108. In the *Kumārasambhava* the same idea is repeated when the poet compares the passing of the breeze through hollow bamboos to instrumental music and this is the accompaniment to the singing of the *kinṇaras* (Canto I, 8). In the *Raghuvamśa*, Canto II, 12, in the simile this music is compared to the music of the flute keeping accompaniment to the singing of the gods (see Ramachandran, K. V., *Music and Dance in Kālidāsa*, p. 5): he takes the instrumental music described here to be "the Aeolian flute, a wind instrument fashioned by human hands but played upon by the breeze."
109. Also see *Mālavikāgnimitra*—Ganadāsa's definition of the perfect dance.
110. See also *Raghuvamśa*, XIX, v. 13, 14. From the description of these dances, we know that the practice of the four types of *abhinaya* was customary and well-known, that dance *gurus* (see *Raghuvamśa*, XXI, 14 and XIX, 36) were employed in courts, that the dancing was done to the accompaniment of the *mṛdanga* and song, and that it had to be perfectly executed without flaw in *tāla*.
111. See earlier *Kumārasambhava*.
112. VIII, 91.
113. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, CH. IV.
114. See *Kumārasambhava* (Canto VII, 81 and Canto V, 74) etc. Also *sūcī hasta* described in *Raghuvamśa*, Canto II, 24.
115. *Vibhrama* is frequently mentioned: it is one of the ten natural graces (*alankāras*) of women (*Nāṭyaśāstra, Kāvyaṃālā* Series, CH. XXII, 17). The *apsarās* in the Himalayas mistaking the cloud-shadows for evening hurry indoors in a state of confusion (*Kumārasambhava*, I, 4).
116. Canto IX, 34 and 38.
117. *Kirātārjunīya*, Chowkambha Series edition, p. 86. Mallinātha's commentary interprets *klānta vilocana* as *glāni dr̥ṣṭi*. *Glāni dr̥ṣṭi* is one of the thirty-six glances of *Nāṭyaśāstra* (VIII, 67 and VIII, 88). It is used for weariness, sickness, etc.
118. See Commentary, Chowkambha Series, p. 224.

119. *Uttarapīṭhikā*, II, 10 ff.
120. *Uttarapīṭhikā*, II, 42 ff.
121. The gathering here is the equivalent of the *janapada* 'samāja' of the *Rāmāyana*, and the *goṣṭhi* of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*.
122. *Recita*, as a general term, only means moving about, but in almost all the movements of the limbs and the face, there is one movement called the *recaka*; the *recita* of the eyebrows 'is the lifting of the one eyebrow and is used for amorous sporting' and is used in dance (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, VIII, 119 ff.).
123. Agrawala, V. S., *Harṣacarita*. A comprehensive analysis of the society, culture and the arts as found in the work and as given in the commentary.
124. *Harṣacarita*, Nirnaya Sagar Press edition.
125. Agrawala, V. S., *Harṣacarita*, pp. 32-34, for an interpretation of these terms.
126. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Kāvyamālā* Series XX, 14.
127. Cf. also to the *hallīsaka* mentioned in the *Harivamśa*, II, 20.
128. We have various *karanas* and *angahāras* also by that name. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, CII IV—*svastika*, *recita*, *ardha-recita*, etc. Here Bharata talks of four types of *recita*, viz., *pāda* (foot), *katu* (waist), *hasta* (hand) and *grīvā* (neck). *Nāṭyaśāstra*, IV. 252-256.
129. See Śaṅkara commentary.
130. For a definition of *pinḍī* and *pinḍibandha* see *Nāṭyaśāstra*, IV, 260; and *Nāṭyaśāstra*, IV, 294b-295a. See Ghosh, M., translation of *Nāṭyaśāstra*, footnotes on p. 67 and 71. Śāradātanaya's *Bhāvaprakāśa* gives an exhaustive definition of *pinḍī*. The four types of *pinḍibandha* known to Bharata are *pinḍī*, *śṅkhalikā*, *latābandha* and *bhed-yaka*: *rāsaka* here is obviously of the second *śṅkhalikā* type where circles are made by joining the hands.
131. Agarwala, V. S., *Harṣacarita*, p. 32 ff. footnote, p. 34, who compares this dance with the dances of the Greeks: he is also of the opinion that the Indian *rāsa* and the Greek *hallīsuka* combined to produce the peculiar dance of the Arabians or Arabi which came to be known as *ārabhaṭī*. What he points out, is supported by Bharata's description of the *ārabhaṭī*: *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Kāvyamālā* Series, XX, 26.
132. Pitchers feature prominently in the *Varṣāmaṅgala* dances in Bengal and some *kajri* dances in Uttar Pradesh.
133. For reference to *lāsaka sangītasālā*, see *ibid*, III, 80 ff., where different types of educational agencies are mentioned.
134. Pāṇini, IV, 3, 110.
135. Cf. Keith and Macdonell, *Vedic Index*, Vol II, p. 395.
136. See Agarwala, V. S., *Harṣacarita*, p. 157.
137. *Ibid.*, p. 148; illustration of the Deogarh scene
138. Kale, M. R.'s edition of *Kādambarī*, pp. 220-21 and translation, p. 186.
139. Kale, M. R.'s edition of *Kādambarī*, pp. 126-27; *ibid.*, translation, p. 105.
140. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-25; *ibid.*, translation, pp. 103 and 105.
141. *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 153 and 230; and *ibid*, translation, pp. 43, 130, 195, etc.
142. *Kādambarī*, Part I, *Śukavarnana* Kale, M. R.'s edition, p. 26. The commentary of Mayūraśvara explains *nṛtta* as one in which dancing depends on *tāla* and *laya*—on the authority of the *Daśarūpaka* and explains it further, too.
143. *Kādambarī*, Kale's edition, p. 96.
144. *Kādambarī*, Kale's edition, p. 125; *Nṛttaśāstra* and *Gandharva Vidyā*, both are mentioned.
145. *Ibid.*, p. 126, T. Ridding's translation, p. 60. The words *nṛtta*, *nṛttakīṛdā* and *lāsyavilāsa* are frequently used.
- 146. *Kādambarī*, Kale's edition, p. 118.
147. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
148. *Kādambarī*, Kale's edition, p. 127.
149. *Ibid.*, p. 73, description of the hermitage of Jābālī
150. *Vikramorvaśīya*, II, 4, etc. and *Kādambarī*, Kale's edition, p. 51.
151. Kale's edition, p. 135.
152. *Gītakaḷāvinyāsamiva*, *Ibid.*, p. 59
153. *Kādambarī*, Kale's edition, pp. 146-47.
154. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
155. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
156. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
157. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
158. *Ibid.*, p. 226.
159. Keith, A., *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 112.
160. The *hallīsaka* is a *nṛtya* known since the *Harivamśa*: See Kakati, B., 'Rāsa Dance and the Moon Myth', *Journal of Gauhati University*.

CLASSICAL INDIAN DANCE IN LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

161. See also Keith, A., *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 41, resemblance to the Holi dance and to phallic orgies of Pagan Rome as described by Juvenal.
Keith also observes (p. 112) that "this may be a reminiscence of a cult dance in honour of Viṣṇu where weapons of Viṣṇu appear as figures on the stage in the dress of herdsmen."
162. *Giri* (mountain) was substituted when Kṛṣṇa played the part.
163. Ref. L. Von Schweder, *Arische Religion*, II, 114 ff.
164. See *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Kale's edition: Introduction where he classifies the play as a *prakaraṇa*.
165. Kale, M. R.'s edition of *Mṛcchakaṭika*.
166. The scene of the chase will be discussed separately as an example of *āṅgikābhinaya*.
167. Kale's edition, p. 102.
168. See Mallinātha's commentary for definition of this term.
169. Kale's edition, p. 75.
170. Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* devotes a whole chapter to these arts. An alternative meaning of *vaiśikī* is mentioned by the commentator: See Kale's Ed., p. 3, commentary.
171. The window would be represented through two *hamsapakṣa hastas* turned down: this is when the *hamsapakṣa hastas* form a *vardhamānaka* (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, IX, 158).
172. This is according to *Abhinayadarpana*, v. 155-157.
173. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Kāvyaṃālā*, 1943 edition; CH. XXII, 177. *Utkanṭhā* would be represented by a pair of *avahittha* hands (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, IX, 151).
174. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Kāvyaṃālā*, CH. XXV, 81b-82a.
175. The couplet does not occur in the G.O.S. edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It is found in the Chowkambha edition (CH. XX, 42).
176. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Kāvyaṃālā*, CH. XXI, specially verses 169, 172-173 and 174 *Kāvyaṃālā*, Nityanayagar Press edition, 1943, CH. XXI, 192-193, 196-198.
177. Bharata does say (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Kāvyaṃālā*, 35) that the rainy night should be indicated by 'loud sound of masses of clouds, falling showers of rain' (translation, Ghosh, M. M., *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 497).
178. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Kāvyaṃālā*, 1943 edition, CH. XXII, 284-85.
179. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, I, v. 108.
180. Also see *Nāṭyaśāstra*, IV, 275b-276c, where the *lāsyā* is termed *sukumāraprayoga*.
181. Ramachandran, K. V., *Music and Dance in Kālidāsa*
182. End of Act I: it occurs as stage direction.
183. There are numerous examples of this type of word play in Sanskrit drama.
184. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, I, 47, for *apsarās* and VI, 15 for the eight *rasas*.
185. Some commentators believe that he did the three dances, vi. the *caracāṭī*, *khuraka* and *kutīlikā* in this act: these three are defined as special kinds of dances, the third is in the category of the *nāṭya* and the first two in the category of *nrtya*.
186. There is an *angahāra*, as also a *karana* by that name: (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, IV, 184, 81, 82).
187. Bharata really prescribes two *sthānas* for the releasing of missiles, the *maṇḍala sthāna* and the *ālīdha*. The first relates to Indra. The feet are obliquely placed four *tālas* apart and is assumed in the use of weapons like the bow and the thunderbolt. The *ālīdha* is done by the right foot in the *maṇḍala sthāna* and the left pushed away five *tālas* apart, an attitude common in Indian iconography such as the *Mahīṣmardīnī* and other such figures. It is assumed in the release of missiles.
188. We shall discuss these in detail later.
189. Present translation. Ghosh, M. M., p. 222.
190. Notice that the uses of *śukatunḍa* hands according to Bharata do not include watering of plants. See illustration of these gestures in Ramachandran, K. V., *Music and Dancing in Kālidāsa*, p. 22 ff.
191. See *Abhijñāna Śakuntala*. Nirṇaya Sagar Press, p. 27, commentary. Also see Ramachandran, K. V., *Music and Dancing in Kālidāsa*, illustration, p. 22.
192. Ibid., pp. 33-34.
193. The *lajjitā* or *lajjānvitā* glance is described as the glance in which ends of the eye-lashes are slightly curved, the upper eyelid is lowered, the eyeballs look down (see Nirṇaya Sagar Press First edition, p. 40).
194. Nirṇaya Sagar Press edition, p. 38 and p. 40. Bharata does not say specifically that the *tripatākā hasta* is used for an aside: but one of the uses is to place it near the mouth and ears; and the convention emerged out of this. Bharata talks of *janāntika* in his chapter on Special Representation and does not mention the use of the *tripatākā hasta*; he also does not say how it is to be represented on the stage (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Kāvyaṃālā* Series, CH. XXV, 91a-92).
195. Nirṇaya Sagar First Edition, p. 84.
196. Ibid., p. 84.
197. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, VIII, 36—*paralolita* is the word used when the head moves on all sides: it is used in fainting, intoxication and when one is possessed by a spirit: and see VIII, 86-7, for *śūnya dr̥ṣṭi* and X, 148-149 for *dola hasta*.

198. Nirnaya Sagar First edition, p. 85 below.
199. Bharata does not mention melancholy or love-sickness as one of the states in which the *karkaṭa hasta* is used, see IX, 133b-134a.
200. *Abhilāṣā* is described by Bharata as the first stage of love (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Kāvyamālā*, XXII, 157-158).
201. It is used in turning away the face and looking back. See *Nāṭyaśāstra* CH. VIII, 34.
202. Nirnaya Sagar Press edition, p. 111, below
203. The word 'possibly' is used, as there is a controversy regarding the definition of the term *citrābhinaya* here: some scholars have argued that it stands for pictorial effect, and others say that it stands for pictorial effects created through *abhinaya* (see Ghosh, M. M., *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 440 and p. 493(b). We take it to mean as the representation through gestures. Also, see *Abhinavabhāratī*, 487 and *Kāvyamālā* XXV, 2-4.
204. See Nirnaya Sagar First edition, p. 115.
205. See sun and time of day rules by Bharata
206. See Nirnaya Sagar First edition, p. 129
207. Ibid., p. 129, commentary.
208. Ibid., p. 130 and *Nāṭyaśāstra*, IX, 39-41.
209. Ibid., p. 139.
210. Nirnaya Sagar First edition, p. 188.
211. Ibid., p. 222.
212. Ibid., p. 188.
213. Nirnaya Sagar First edition, p. 229. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* defines the *ūrdhvajānu cārī* (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, X, 33) as the movement where a *kuñcita* foot is lifted upwards to the breast level, and the other foot is motionless and *samapāda*.
214. See *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Kāvyamālā* edition, CH XXII, v 12-13 and 19-20. Also Ramachandran, K. V., *Music and Dance in Kālidāsa*, pp. 27-29, who gives a very fine analysis of these.
215. Kale, M. R.'s edition of *Vikramorvaśīya* 1932 edition.
216. There are two other versions of this stage direction
217. The height of the mountain may be shown by the *udvāhita* head (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, VIII, 29) and the *hamsapakṣa hasta* (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, IX, 110) on the right side (see *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Kāvyamālā*, XXV, 25) and the arms are lifted outstretched to indicate the climbing (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Kāvyamālā*, XXV, 77).
218. The rubbing against each other to represent the feeling of touch is shown by a pair of *utsaṅga* hands (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, IX, 139).
219. See Kale's edition, p. 19, 20 ff. Also see the stage direction *janāntikam* which is frequent.
220. Act I, p. 23 (Kale's edition)
221. It is more likely in this case that the two *arāla hastas* were used: the *arāla* hands are held where the sacred thread is shown and one is separated from the other from a *svastika* position (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Kāvyamālā*, XXV, 13).
222. Kale's edition, p. 40.
223. *Abhinayadarpana*, 154-155 and 155-157.
224. Kale's edition, p. 69
225. Ibid., p. 71.
226. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Kāvyamālā*, XXV, 6 and XXII, 77b-78a
227. This is according to the *Abhinayadarpana*, 251, and not the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.
228. The worshipping may also be done with the *mukula hasta* (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, IX, 118 ff).
229. This is formed by placing the *arāla hastas* contrarily and turning them upwards. It can also be represented by the *hamsapakṣa hasta* (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, IX, 108-09).
230. Cf. to *Nāṭyaśāstra*, IX, 18-25. The two *patākā* hands would be separated from the *svastika* position.
231. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, XII, 128-130. Translation, Ghosh, M. M., *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 226.
232. Cf. to stage directions: like looking sideways (*pārśvato dr̥ṣṭum*) and going round and looking (*parikramya pārśvato*) etc. and taking two steps (*padaḥvaye*)
233. Act IV, verse 51 ff., Kale's edition, v. 27, p. 105.
234. This could also be shown by the *paralolita* head (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, VIII, 37).
235. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, VII, 41 ff.
236. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Kāvyamālā*, XXII, 77b-78a.
237. Cowell and Thomas, *Harṣacarita*, p. 58.
238. Ibid., p. 65.
239. See Takukusu's English translation, p. 163.
240. Ibid., p. 165.
241. See Panikkar, K. M., *Śrī Harṣa of Kanauj*, p. 688.
242. Cowell and Thomas, *Harṣacarita*, pp. 121-258.
243. Huen-Tsang's account of Harṣa

244. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Kāvya-mālā*, 1943, XXII, 48. Here she represents the words of another through *sūcī abhinaya*.
245. Cf. Kālidāsa, *Abhijñāna Śakuntala* and *Vikramorvaśīya*.
246. "The eyelids are drawn up and the eyeballs are trembling (*calana*) and the middle of the eye is full blown".
247. It is obvious, however, that the stage was not absolutely bare in this scene and the foliage on the stage may easily have given Sāgarikā the noose she wanted. The noose is later employed by Kāñcanamālā to punish the Vidūṣaka.
248. *Mālatīmādhava*, Act I, verse 2.
249. Ibid., Act V, v. 23.
250. Raghavan, V., *Kathakali and Other Forms of Bharatanāṭya*, *Trivenī*, Vol. VI, No. 2, October, 1933.
251. Ibid., *Yakṣagāna*, *Trivenī*, Vol. VII, No. 2, October, 1934.
252. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, X, 56-58; the *saṁsthāva* of the limbs is defined by Bharata as the position of the body where there is complete equilibrium.
253. This is the conventional description of a love-sick person: see also Jagaddhara's commentary on *sūnya dṛṣṭi* etc.
254. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, VIII. verses 68, 73, 76, 71 and 79 for definition of these glances and verses 87-94 for their uses.
255. *Mālatīmādhava*, Act III, verse 7 ff., line 3. *Uttararāmacarita*, Act III, verse 5 ff.
256. *Mālatīmādhava*, Act VI, 15 ff. here the tears are wiped by the end of a garment, and VII, v. 7 ff, line 3. *Uttararāmacarita*, Act III, v. 18 etc., where tears are of affection, wonder, etc.
257. Kapālakunḍalā worships the deity (Act V, 21 ff.) with *padmakōṣa* and *mukula hastas*. She enters the stage at the beginning of the Act (V, 1) by the aerial path,—the *ākāśapatha* which is indicated by the *atīkrāntā cārī*.
For other stage directions see *Mālatīmādhava*, Act VI, verse 7, line 27. Lavangikā and Kāmanḍakī enact entering the temple.
Gamanābhinaya Act, IX, 4 ff, Kapālakunḍalā entering the cemetery: smelling the odour. this would be done by the *vikṛsta* movement of the nose (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, VIII, 134)
258. *Vemśamhāra*, C. V. Devasthali's edition, p. 25.
259. Konow, Sten's edition, Harvard Oriental Series, pp. 100-01
260. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Eggeling, *Sacred Books of the East*, 44, 417, 'staff-dancer'
261. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Book V, CH. XIII, 23 ff.—or Wilson H. edition, Vol. IV, p. 323 ff.—Wilson's footnote on it.
262. Bāna's *Harṣacarita*: one of the characteristics of the *ābhāṭī nṛtya* is *rāsai asa* which consists of circle formations of eight, sixteen or thirtytwo, but its atmosphere and flavour is different. it is much more vigorous.
263. Spreen, H., *Folk Dances of the South—Pinnal Kollāṭṭama*, see p. xv and pp. 77 ff
264. Konow, Sten, *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 280, footnote: he interprets this as 'staff-dance'.
265. Kamalanārāyaṇa, *Assam ke Loka Nṛtya*, Hindustani Academy Journal, January-March, 1944, p. 20 ff.
266. See *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Bharata, CH. IV. 95 (*danda-pakṣa*), 102 (*danda-recita*) and 143 (*danda-pāda*) *karana*: also *Sangītaratnākara* (Ānandaśrama Series). VII, 642, *danda-pakṣa*; VII, 651, *danda-recita*; VII, 711, 965, 1015, 1186, *dandapāda*.
267. The *danda-pakṣa hasta*: two *haṁsapakṣa* hands are moved alternately and then held out like a staff, i.e., in a diagonal position.
268. See *karanas*, 34, 41, and 82 on the walls of the Cidambaram temple, specially illustration of *karanas* 34, 41 (see Naidu, V. N., *Tāṇḍava Lakṣaṇam*, pp. 131-32 for illustration). We frequently come across this pose in the *nṛtta* portions of *Bharatanāṭyam*.
269. For definition of *piṇḍis*, see *Bhāvaprakāśa*, Śāradātanaya's, p. 264.
270. *Rekhā* is defined as "correct pose of all the limbs in dancing" Cf. Sten Konow, *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 280, footnote 6 (Lanman's translation). Lanman adds, "with clean-cut poses" may be an *avyayī bhāva* or else an adjective with *callim*.
271. *Sangītaratnākara*, CH. VII, 315. *svabhāvana sthito bhūmau samah padobhidhīyate*, also see *Nāṭyaśāstra*, X, 13.
272. Ibid. (Ānandaśrama Series), CH. VII, 1215.
273. See Lanman, C. R., Translation, Konow edition, p. 280.
274. A term still current.
275. Bharata, *Nāṭyaśāstra*, XXV (*Kāvya-mālā*, 1943), verses 83-85a. According to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, "A swing should be represented by its movement,—fast movements of the limbs and by representing the holding of strings. It is by movements of this kind that the spectators will know of the moving characters who occupy their seats after this are supposedly moving in a swing" (Translation, Ghosh, M. M., *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 503).
276. See *Karpūramañjarī*, Act II, 34-40, Lanman's translation, p. 256.
277. See *Sangītaratnākara* (Adyar), VII, 346.

278. Konow, Sten, Harvard Series, p. 10, and Lanman, translation, p. 228,—the king's speech.
279. *Karpūramañjarī*, Act II, 30 ff.
280. See also *Mālavikāgnimitra*.
281. Konow, Sten, *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 7.
282. Ibid., p. 19.
283. This *vardhamāna* is the *samyuta hasta* formed by the *mukula* and the *kappitha hasta*. the Baroda edition and *Kāvya-mālā* edition describe the formation of the *vardhamāna* through the *hamsapakṣa* hands facing outward (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, IX, 158) *mukula* and *kappithā* formation is on the basis of other manuscripts, see Ghosh, *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 184 Here the *vardhamāna* would be the *vardhamāna samyuta hasta* and not the *vardhamāna* of the *hamsapakṣa hastas*.
284. *Karpūramañjarī* (Konow edition), p. 109.
285. Ibid., p. 112 (*Vivāhaghaṭana nāṭayatah*).
286. Ibid., p. 114 (*Rājā Sarve tathaivanāṭayati*). This refers to the circumambulations mentioned in the Vidūsaka's speech.
287. Konow, Sten, Introduction, *Life and Work of Rājaśekhara*, *Karpūramañjarī*, p. 195
- 228 Barua, B., Bharhut, Book III, Plates XXXIX and XLII.
289. See Barua and Sinha, *Bharhut Inscriptions*, II, pp. 47-49 and p. 51.

IV

SCULPTURE AND DANCING

IN a discussion between King Vajra and Mārkaṇḍeya on painting and drama (*nāṭya*) occurs a memorable verse which states in a nutshell the manifold inter-relationships of the visual arts and the plastic arts: the King is told,

“As in *nāṭya*, so also in painting (*citra*), it is the imitation of the universe, that is the representation of man and other human beings in their state of emotion: as in *nāṭya*, so in painting, those eyes, those *bhāva*, that *abhinaya aṅga* and the *upāṅga* present a supreme picture—the *parama citra*.”¹

What has been said here of painting (*citra*) can be applied with equal justification to sculpture, and the statement gives us a clue to the nature of relationship between these arts. There is first the identity of the purpose of all Indian arts. Indian sculpture and painting embody in plastic form what the *Upaniṣads* state in terms of philosophy and what the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other creative works of literature portray through the fable, and what Indian drama (*nāṭya*) and dancing present through visual form. The figures of Indian sculpture and painting are the gods of Indian literature and dancing; they are cosmic beings, embodiments of an abstract idea, of an inmost psychical significance; and the human form is the vehicle of communication of this soul state. In both sculpture and dancing the human form is the instrument of expression and everything in the figure, the face, the hands, the posture of the limbs, the pose and turn of the body, each accessory has to be imbued with an inner meaning; it manifests, on the one hand, the basic idea and, on the other, suppresses anything which would mean an emphasis on the merely physical or sensuous.

The technique of the arts is conditioned by this ultimate purpose: since the aim is not only physical or emotional beauty, it presents the human form as a symbol capable of evoking states of being; the canons prescribe the laws and rules by which each single part of the human form can be utilized through the plastic medium and through the language of movement to evoke these states. Thus every figure of Indian sculpture is, like every pose and gesture in Indian dancing, highly symbolic, and each figure has a particular evocative quality. The technique is the methodology by which the artist can present this spirit in form, the soul in body, and it lays down the rules by which the universal and cosmic can be presented through an individualized representation, which can in turn suggest the divine and the cosmic.

The supreme picture, about which the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* speaks, is suggested and created through a parallel technique of form in both sculpture and dancing: the *aṅga*, the *upāṅga*, the eyes (*dr̥ṣṭi*), etc., are portrayed with a view to giving the movement of these parts of the body an utmost symbolic significance. Since dancing treats of the *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas* in the movement of the living human form, King Vajra in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is asked to master the laws of dancing before attempting to learn painting and iconography. Once the technique of movement in the living human form is mastered it can be arrested in the plastic medium of stone and colour.

The relationship of sculpture, painting and dancing can, therefore, be analyzed from many angles. It can be studied from the point of view of their identity of purpose, their similarity of content, and their parallelism in technique, or their mutual borrowing of the finished product. An attempt has been made here to analyze these similarities of content and form.

In an earlier chapter the overwhelming sculptural quality of the Indian dance has been mentioned, we observed how the Indian dancer seemed to aim at attaining the perfect pose, the moment of perfect balance, after a series of movement in time. The Indian sculptor in turn tries to capture cosmic movement through the perfection of rhythm and line; he also attempts to arrest the rapturous intensity and abandon of dance movement. From the earliest times to the sixteenth century, the Indian sculptor seems to be fascinated by the dynamic energy of the Indian dance: time and again he has tried to arrest the moment of vital and significant movement in stone: the prolificness of the dancing figure in Indian sculpture gives it a unique quality of rhythmic expression.

The fundamental technique of Indian sculpture has been discussed in some detail earlier. We saw how the conception of the *sūtra* (the plumb lines), the different *māna* (the linear measurements), the *tāla* (the space measurements) and the *bhaṅga* (the poses or deviations from the vertical median) governed the modelling of images in Indian sculpture: we also saw how each pose and each type of pose stood for a corresponding spiritual and emotive quality. From this discussion it was clear that this elaborate and precise system of proportions was not an arbitrary pattern, but was one which was abstract without being meaningless and unsymbolic.

When we compare this fundamental technique of *tāla* and *bhaṅga* based on the conception of the *sūtra* and *māna* with the technique of dancing as analyzed by us in the chapter on the theory and technique of Indian dancing, we find that there are significant points of contact between the two arts; little wonder, the dancer evokes the sculptured image of Indian temples in the mind of the spectator, and the figures of Indian sculpture evoke visions of dance movement of gods and human beings,

Without going into the differences of opinion between the different authorities of the *śilpaśāstras* and the *nāṭyaśāstras*, we shall analyze first some of the salient features of the technique of the two arts, and then attempt to analyze the sculptural representation in terms of the dance movement to show how the technique of one art form can be applied to analyze the finished products of the other art form. The representation of dancing in sculpture helps us to reconstruct the missing links in the history of Indian dance; through examples of dance in Indian sculpture we can have some idea of the growth and development of Indian dancing when no written history of the dance exists. The literary and dramatic works give us a clue to the type of dancing, the names of dance forms and compositions prevalent at particular periods of history. Indian sculpture shows us visibly in plastic form, the exact nature of human movement, and the development of stylization in dancing during different periods of history. The consummate skill with which the Indian sculptor has modelled the dancing figure over a period of nearly sixteen hundred years is a rare and significant fact in the history not only of Indian sculpture but of all Indian arts.

From the point of view of form, we find that both Indian dancing and sculpture consider the basic anatomical skeleton of the human form more important than the accessories of muscles and tendons that cover it. The division of the human form into the various *aṅga* and the *upāṅga* in both the arts has been made on the basis of the bone structure, the joints of the body rather than the muscular system of the limbs of the human body: muscles and unnecessary details of mass are suppressed, although they are not erred against. Since it was the bone structure and not the muscle structure which was important, it was also possible to analyze the human form in terms of a set of geometrical and mathematical laws of planes and surfaces. The *tāla* as a unit of measurement in space is mentioned by both the *śilpaśāstras* and the *nāṭyaśāstras*. The definition of the *tāla* is quite clear in the *śilpaśāstras* and it naturally constitutes the most important and basic unit of measurement. The *tāla* in Indian dancing cannot obviously stand for height measurement, and the *navatāla*, *aṣṭatāla*² measurements cannot be applied to dancing; however, the term occurs often in dance texts in discussions on *sthāna*,³ *cārī* and the *karaṇa*, as also in the description of feet and knee movements. This term is used in dancing in the measurement of space on the horizontal plane, i.e., along the *pramāṇa*.⁴ Sometimes the movement of the hands and the feet prescribed for *cārīs* or *karaṇas* can also be understood in terms of the *upamāna* (the measurement of interspaces between parts of the body). Indeed the *nṛtta* technique of Indian dancing can be understood to a very large extent if we understand the conception of the *sūtra* and the *māna* of Indian sculpture. Indian dancing intentionally imposes upon itself this discipline of limited space and all its movements can be analyzed in terms of the relation of the different parts of the human body to the vertical median (the *brahma sūtra*) on the one hand and the measurements along the different planes denoted by the area which would be covered by the *māna*, the *pra-*

māṇa and the *unmāṇa* corresponding to the dimensions of height, breadth and thickness and the measurements of the interspaces (*upamāṇa*) and the periphery along the circumference (the *parimāṇa*) on the other. The leg extensions of *mandalas* and *sthānas* of Indian dancing can be measured along the *pramāṇa*, the movements of different parts of the body, specially the chest and the neck etc., can be measured along the *unmāṇa*; the movements of the *recita* type and the *bhramarīs* take into consideration the *parimāṇa* measurements. Just as Indian sculpture conceives of the deflections and poses of the human body along these different planes and areas of space, so also Indian dancing conceives of movement in space along the three planes; characteristically, Indian dancing seldom conceives of space without these limitations. The vertical ascension in either dance or sculpture is emphasized but rarely, and there is no attempt to spread out, or to extend the limbs to the furthest point from the centre of the body. The point of perfect balance can be maintained if there is the minimum possible deviation from the centre of gravity; both the Indian sculptor and the Indian dancer follow this rule. Violent movement is depicted only by one leg and the utmost poise and stability of a rare static quality is suggested by the other.

Closely related to the manipulation of space in relation to the vertical median (*sūtra*) and measurements along the different planes is the manipulation of weight which results in the deflections of different parts of the body from the vertical median. All human movement can be classified into the four *bhaṅgas* in both sculpture and dancing. The moment of perfect balance and poise when the weight of the body is equally divided and the *sūtra* passes through the crown of the head through the navel to a point midway between the heels is the *samabhaṅga* pose in Indian sculpture. There are in Indian dancing also a large number of positions in the *sthānas*, in the *cārīs* and in the *karaṇas*, which correspond to the *samabhaṅga* position. The *samapāda cārī*, the *samanakha* and the *sama karaṇa* and the *samapāda sthāna* correspond to this position in sculpture. There are no knee bends here, and no *recita* of the hands; the hips, waist, sides and the feet all suggest perfect poise, without any relaxation or tension.

From this moment of complete poise and perfect balance, the next step is when slight movement is suggested without covering space but by a shift of weight: this is the *abhaṅga* pose. the point of unrest and not of movement: here there is only a slight flexion of one knee. Although the plumb line (*sūtra*) passes from the crown of the head to a point midway between the heels, it passes through the right of the navel and not through the navel as in the *samabhaṅga* pose. There is thus a shift of weight, which results in either a change in the position of the hip (*kaṭi*) or the placing of the foot, or sometimes by the deviation of the torso to one side. But the placing of the feet is by far the most important method of depicting the *abhaṅga* pose in both dancing and sculpture: the *tryaśra*⁵ placing of one foot, without the knee bend or the controlled *udvāhita*⁶ movement of the hips results in this

stance: the sides (*pārśva*) move but slightly. The beautiful images of Kodaṇḍa Rāma, of the Cola queen in bronze, of Pārvatī and Mātangi in the South Indian bronzes all show this slight shift of weight, and oblique placing of one foot.⁷ In dancing this pose is mentioned in the context of *sthānas* for women, the *āyata* and the *avahittha sthāna*⁸ are fine examples of the *abhaṅga* pose. Both in Indian sculpture and dancing the *abhaṅga* pose is never shown by a *kuñcita* or an *añcita* foot; it is always the *samapāda* frontal position of one foot and slight *tryaśra* placing of the other; the flowing figures of the verandahs of the Rāmeśvara cave in Elurā are also faithful representations of the *abhaṅga* pose, full of rhythm and yet suggestive of unique poise. The *tribhaṅga* indicates a complete shift of weight from one leg to the other; for here one leg is in contact with the ground; the other can be lifted up and drawn away and in doing so the balance has invariably to be maintained by shifting the torso to the opposite direction. There are, therefore, three distinct deviations of the head, torso, and the legs from the vertical median; the central plumb line (*sūtra*) passes through the left or right pupil, the middle of the chest, the left or right of the navel down to the heels. The human figure is divided along the three horizontal *sūtras* (namely the *hikkā*, the *bhadra* and *kaṭi*) and each unit moves in an opposite direction to the first: thus if the head and hips deflect to the right the torso deviates to the left. This is one of the significant similarities of technique between Indian sculpture and Indian dancing. The conception of the *tribhaṅga* indicates clearly the basic laws which are followed in the depiction of human movement: the human form is broken up into the units of the head, the torso (above the navel line) and the lower limbs below the *kaṭi sūtra* (hip line) and these are then manipulated in different ways. Most of the sculptural representation of Indian dancing can be classified as the *tribhaṅga* pose and the finest examples of Indian sculpture, such as the image of Śiva as Naṭarāja and the other *nṛttamūrtis* of Sarasvatī, Kṛṣṇa and Durgā, are all in the *tribhaṅga* pose: the *cārī* or *karaṇa* or *maṇḍala* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, when analyzed in terms of the static posture they finally attain, can also be analyzed either in terms of the *tribhaṅga* or the *atibhaṅga* pose. The maximum deviations are allowed to the different parts of the body in the *atibhaṅga*: the bend of the knees, the deflection of the hips, the extension of the side (*pārśva*) and the movements of the head can all take place at the same time in the *atibhaṅga*, and some of the contortionist sculpture and the acrobatic feats of Indian dancing were possible in the freedom allowed by the principle of the *atibhaṅga*. Used in a restrained manner, it resulted in the powerful stances of Durgā and Śiva and, when used to show virtuosity in the plastic medium or through the medium of the movement, it resulted in the different types of contortionist poses seen sometimes on the walls of Indian temples, and the acrobatic movements prescribed for some of the *Nāṭyaśāstra karaṇas* like the *cakramaṇḍala* and the *gaṅgāvatarāṇa* etc.

Arising out of the conception of the *bhaṅga* are the different types of *sthāna*, *āsana* and *śayana* (reclining postures) mentioned in both the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the

śilpaśāstras. Of these the *sthānas* are the most closely related; the *āsanas* and the reclining postures also correspond to each other in the two arts, but a close parallel cannot be drawn. The *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* mentions about nine such *sthānas* in one context and thirteen others in another⁹: all these arise out of different positions of the legs and the feet and lead to a series of postures and movements like the *vaiśākha*, the *ālīḍha* and the *pratyālīḍha*, *viṣama*, *calita*, *skhalita*, *āyasta* (*āyata*) etc. These terms are closely related to the terms of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*: the *ālīḍha*, *pratyālīḍha*, the *vaiśākha* and *āyata* belong as much to the sphere of dancing and drama (*nāṭya*) as to the sphere of sculpture. Bharata prescribes the *ālīḍha*, the *pratyālīḍha* and the *vaiśākha sthāna* for men¹⁰ and the *āyata sthāna* for women.¹¹ The definitions of the terms such as the *ālīḍha*, the *pratyālīḍha* and the *vaiśākha sthāna* closely correspond to each other: the *āyata* mentioned in the context of the holding of the spear etc. in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, is mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* strictly in the context of the standing postures of women. The *Viṣṇudharmottara* also classifies all these *sthānas* in two general groups of the *sama* and *ardhasama sthānas*. This classification is akin to the classification of *cārīs* into the *bhaumī* and *ākāśikī*, by which one foot movement and the movements of both the feet are indicated. A similar kind of parallelism can be worked out in the discussion of the *āsanas* and the *śayana* postures in both the arts, but this is neither too precise, nor is the parallelism so striking. The most striking similarity between the two arts is seen in the manipulation of the hands, termed *hastābhinaya* in dancing and *hasta* or *mudrā* in Indian sculpture. As in Indian dancing, so also in Indian sculpture, the hand positions and movements constitute an important aspect of technique. Much of the sculptural quality of the dance lies in the accurate depiction of the hand movements and the arm positions along with the *tribhaṅga* posture mentioned above: also, the symbolic and highly stylized quality of the Indian images lies in the faithful presentation of the hand postures according to the laws laid down in the *śilpaśāstras*. Each one of these hand gestures is used in a special way in each image and depicts the idea or the character and the mood of the image. Each mood of a god has a prescribed hand gesture and seldom do we find the sculptor erring against this. The *devahastas* described by the *Abhinayadarpaṇa* and mentioned by us earlier can be applied fairly accurately to the *astas* of the different gods and goddesses seen in Indian iconography. The *śilpaśāstras* mention only a few *hasta* and many of them repeat the *hasta* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and other texts of dramaturgy. The iconography texts mention many *hasta*; in our discussion of *hasta* in the chapter on the theory and technique of classical Indian dancing we examined some of these similarities and differences. The most common *hasta* are the *varada*, the *abhaya*, the *kaṭaka*, the *sūcī*, the *tarjana*, the *kaṭyavalambita*, the *daṇḍahasta*, the *vismayahasta* and the *añjalihasta*. The South Indian texts also mention the *nidrita hasta*, the *gajahasta* (variation of the *daṇḍahasta*), the *siṃhakarna hasta* (variation of the *kaṭaka hasta*), and *kartarī hasta*.¹² These are in addition to the four *hasta-mudrās*, namely the *cīnamudrā*, the *vyākhyāna mudrā*, the *jñāna mudrā* and the *yoga mudrā* known to Indian icono-

graphy, in the context of meditation and exposition. Most of these *hastas* are mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* or are comparable to those found in other dance texts. Both the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* and the *Agni Purāṇa*¹³ use these, with slight variations. On the whole the *Agni Purāṇa* is more precise; the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* lumps the iconography *hastas* and the *nṛtta hastas* and the different *karaṇas* of the *hastas* and the arms (*bāhu*) movements into one list. The *uromaṇḍala*, the *arāla* and the *āviddha* are all spoken of in the same breath.

Since Indian sculpture and Indian dancing treat of the human form and the movements of the different parts of the human form with an identical purpose of suggesting a state of being, a soul's state: they also use a similar formalized language of *abhinaya* and *bhāva*, the *aṅgas*, the *upāṅgas* and the *hastas*.

It is not our purpose here to go into greater detail of the parallelism of technique and a comparison of technical terminology of the two arts. It will be obvious from the above discussion that there are many vital points of contact between the two arts, and what seems as vaguely sculptural is really the result of a deliberate plan and a highly formalized technique of the depiction of human movement. What may seem spontaneous in both Indian dance and sculpture is really the result of a well-thought-out complex system of proportions and of the use of *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas* in the two arts.

Since dance was consciously striving for the sculptural, all dance poses can be classified and analyzed in terms of the *samabhaṅga*, *abhaṅga* and *tribhaṅga*, and within the tradition no movement would be possible without falling into one of these three categories; conversely all examples of Indian sculpture whether obviously dancing or not can be analyzed in terms of the *aṅga* and the *upāṅga* of dancing, specially in terms of the static positions and individual movements of the different parts of the human body as described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. If one began to do this, practically the whole field of Indian sculpture could be covered and all sculpture could be analyzed in terms of either the *nṛtta* or the *abhinaya* technique of dancing. It is, therefore, necessary to restrict our field of analysis and to state clearly the type of sculptural representations which can be fruitfully analyzed in terms of dance movement.

We have confined ourselves to certain types of Indian sculpture to show how Indian sculpture and dancing are related to each other on different planes. When we analyze and trace the history of Indian dancing in these sculptures, we are aware also of the distinctive stylization of each of the schools of Indian sculpture, this in turn is analogous to the distinctive stylization in the major styles of Indian dancing. For purposes of analysis, the sculptural representations have been divided into the following categories:

(1) The traditional stylized motifs of Indian sculpture such as the *śālabhañjikās*, the *yakṣīs* and river goddesses, from the earliest Mauryan times to the late medieval examples of sculpture from Gujarat and Rajputānā. The flying figures of the *gandharvas* and the *vidyādhara*s etc. form another class of stylized motif which can be analyzed sometimes in terms of Bharata's terminology.

(2) The unclassified and scattered scenes of dance and music, and the dancing figures which can be fruitfully analyzed in terms of the dance terminology of Bharata. These we find from the earliest times to dance reliefs on the South Indian temples. Amongst these are often examples of highly stylized and formal dancing, even though they have not been identified as such so far.

(3) There is then the sculptural illustration of certain verses of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the temples of the South, specially the Bṛhadeśvara temple of Tanjore, the Natarāja temples of Cidambaram and Śārṅgapāṇi temple of Kumbakonam.

(4) Finally, the sculptural and the iconographical texts describe a class of images of the gods and goddesses known as *nṛttamūrtis* which represent the dancing aspects of these gods and goddesses. These have been described in the *śilpaśāstras* but they can also be analyzed through the terminology of Bharata. Some examples of these have also been included.

As pointed out earlier, practically all sculpture of India can be analyzed in terms of the single units of movement or static position of the different parts of the body. Each piece of sculpture can be analyzed in terms of the position of the head, the arms, the *hastas*, the incline of the body, the torso and the deflexion of the hip, because the basic treatment of the human form is similar in both the arts. These examples of sculpture can be analyzed also in terms of the units of movement of the body or those primary movements that condition the movement of the entire body such as the *cārī*, the *sthānas* and certain basic movements of the knees or the waist. There can then be the third approach by which we can attempt to analyze all the music and dance scenes in terms of Bharata's *karāṇas*, as described in the IV chapter, and attempt to identify all sculptural representation of dancing with the *karāṇas* of Bharata.

The last of the three approaches has often been adopted by the few scholars who have attempted to analyze the dance scenes and dance-poses in sculpture through Bharata's terminology. This approach has obvious dangers and limitations, and cannot be one which can be uniformly adopted if we are aware of certain fundamental differences of the artistic medium of the two art forms. In spite of the parallel techniques of the two arts, movement can be depicted only within limitation and one point of movement alone can be captured in the plastic medium. We must also bear in mind that Bharata's *karāṇas* are sequences or cadences of move-

ment and are not always static poses. An attempt at sculptural representation can thus only be an approximation of the movement described, and cannot possibly depict the entire movement. In fact until we come to the medieval examples of the *nṛttamūrtis* and the sculptural representation of the *karaṇas*, it would be inaccurate to analyze all dance-poses in terms of the *karaṇas*.

We have thus adopted the second approach for the most part, in the belief that a fair measure of accuracy is possible when the sculptural representation is analyzed not in terms of the single movements of the different parts of the body or in terms of sequence of movement, but in terms of the primary units of movements like the *cārī*, and the formalized poses such as the *sthānas* etc. Wherever it was possible to identify the pose of the sculptural representation with a pose which has been described or implied by Bharata in the description of a *karaṇa*, this has been done; but since most *karaṇas* themselves emerge from the *cārī* it was considered more appropriate to analyze these movements in terms of the *cārīs*, the thigh positions and the hands and the arm positions. The *śālabhañjikās* and the *yakṣīs* specially can be analyzed in terms of the *cārīs* or the *sthānas* only and not in terms of the *karaṇas*. One of the obvious differences between the dance scene or a depiction of the dance proper and the depiction of an aspect of it, such as the *cārī* or the *sthāna*, seems to be the presence or absence of the *kṣipta* (knees thrown out—flexing sideways) position of the knees. Almost as early as Amarāvātī, we begin to notice the *kṣipta* position of the *jaṅghā* and, as time moves, this becomes increasingly pronounced; indeed we find that about 11th or 12th century in practically all schools of Indian sculpture, from Gujarat to Orissa, and from Rajasthāna to Trivandrum, dance movements were being sculptured with the *kṣipta* position of the knees.

In the *śālabhañjikā*, *yakṣī* and the river goddess motifs, however, this *kṣipta* position is not noticed and these postures can be analyzed in Bharata terminology either in terms of the position of the feet, or the thighs and hips, or the twist of the waist, and sometimes the *cārīs*.

The first two groups (i.e. the *śālabhañjikās*, flying figures and the general dance scenes) have thus been analyzed in terms of Bharata's terminology taking into consideration the most important feature of the figure, and no attempt has been made to analyze them in terms of the extensive terminology of Bharata. The earlier examples of the representation of Indian dance in sculpture up to the Gupta period can be analyzed only generally in terms of the movements of the feet, hands etc. Only the latter examples have been analyzed in terms of the appropriate *cārī* and *karaṇa*.

The discrepancies between the description of the *karaṇas* and the sculptural

representation of these *karaṇas* in the Cidambaram temple have been analyzed at length in Chapter Two and have therefore not been repeated here.¹¹

The *nṛttamūrtis* of Śiva and Kṛṣṇa have been so exhaustively dealt with in books of Indian sculpture that it has not been considered necessary to include all examples of the *nṛttamūrtis* of Śiva, Sarasvatī and Kṛṣṇa: only a few significant examples have been chosen. Nevertheless a detailed and accurate analysis of the *nṛttamūrtis* from the point of view of their description in the various *śilpaśāstras* and *Purāṇas* and its comparison with the *karaṇas* of Bharata is another task yet to be undertaken for a full comprehension of the significance of these *nṛttamūrtis*.¹⁵

Our first examples of the representation of Indian dancing belong, however, to none of these categories, and are a class by themselves. The stone statuette from Harappa of figure 1, and the copper figurine of the dancing girl or mother goddess as she has been termed recently from Mohenjodāro (figure 2) date back to the Indus Valley civilization, and convince us of the fully evolved and consummate skill of the creators of these sculptors. Marshall identifies the first as a male dancer: the figure stands on his right leg with the body from the waist upwards twisted well round to the left. It is more difficult to say which direction the arms took, but it is most likely that they were also in the front: the left leg must have been raised. Indeed, the three-dimensional movement round the vertical axis is already obvious and the twisted suppleness and ease of movement is suggestive of the images of the dancing Naṭarāja. The uplifted leg and the twist of the torso is the most important feature of the figure which has led scholars to identify it as a dancing figure. If one were to apply Bharata terminology to this, then one would identify the twist of the torso as the *vivartita*¹⁶ movement of the sides (*pārśva*). The thighs would be in *vivartana*,¹⁷ or the shanks would be in *āvṛta*.¹⁸ In either case, it is an uplifted leg which is implied; and the figure suggests this clearly. Whether the neck held three heads or had the head of an animal is not too relevant a consideration for us. Figure 1 shows clearly that the leg must have been uplifted and that the waist turned round the axis in the *vivartita* movement of the side (*pārśva*).

● The Mother goddess or dancing girl from Mohenjo-dāro (figure 2) shows us another type of movement. The front inclination of the torso suggests the characteristic torso treatment of the female figures of the later South Indian bronzes, and the dignity and grace of a great many of the feminine sculpture of India results from this slight provocative concave curve of the spine, so characteristic of both Indian sculpture and dancing, specially in a dance style like Bharatanāṭyam. This depression of the back and stiffening of the torso leads to the *nirbhugna*¹⁹ position of the chest in Indian dancing and sculpture. The other important feature of the figure is the knee bend of one of the legs: the knee is bent in front and can be identified as the position termed as *nata* by Bharata.²⁰ Indeed, everything in the figure is suggestive of later developments: the arm positions become a characteristic mode

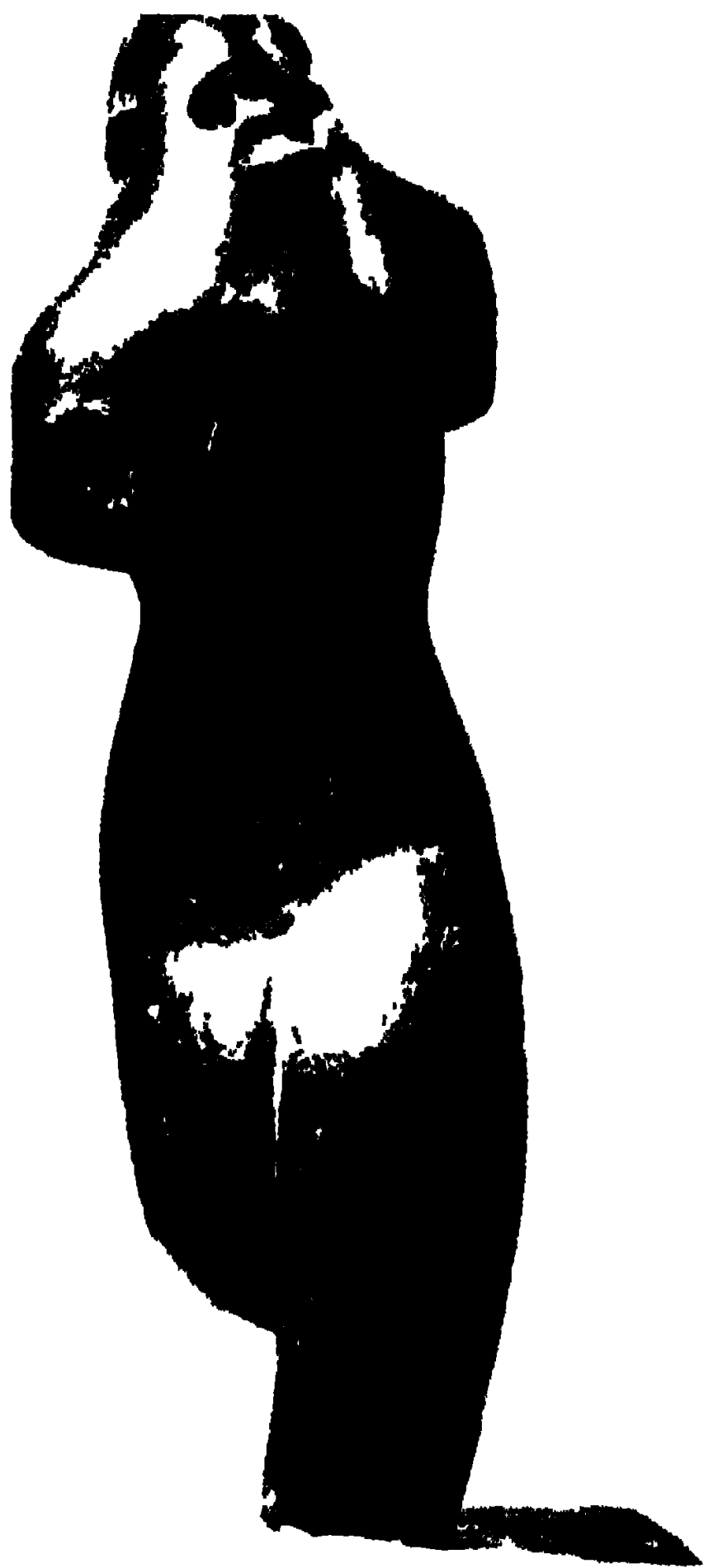
of arm position in the standing poses of both Indian sculpture and dancing: the chest indicates a stiffening with a back depression characteristic of later sculpture: the knees are flexed in front, and are not so far suggestive of an outward flexion characteristic of sculpture of later centuries.

The Didarganj *yakṣī* does not strictly come under the category of the *yakṣīs* depicting dance movement but is one of the finest examples of the *samapāda cārī* position and the *samanakha karana* position. The perfect poise and balance and the equal distribution of weight is seen in a moment of easy control; ease: we notice that there is a slight interspace between the legs and the feet, which is also usually seen in the *samapāda* position. The *muṣṭi hasta*, which holds the fly whisk (cowry) is also clearly seen in the sculpture.²¹ This *hasta* is used later in iconography for holding objects. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* also prescribes that the *muṣṭi hasta*,²² can be used for holding spears, club and other objects, even though the fly whisk is not mentioned specifically.

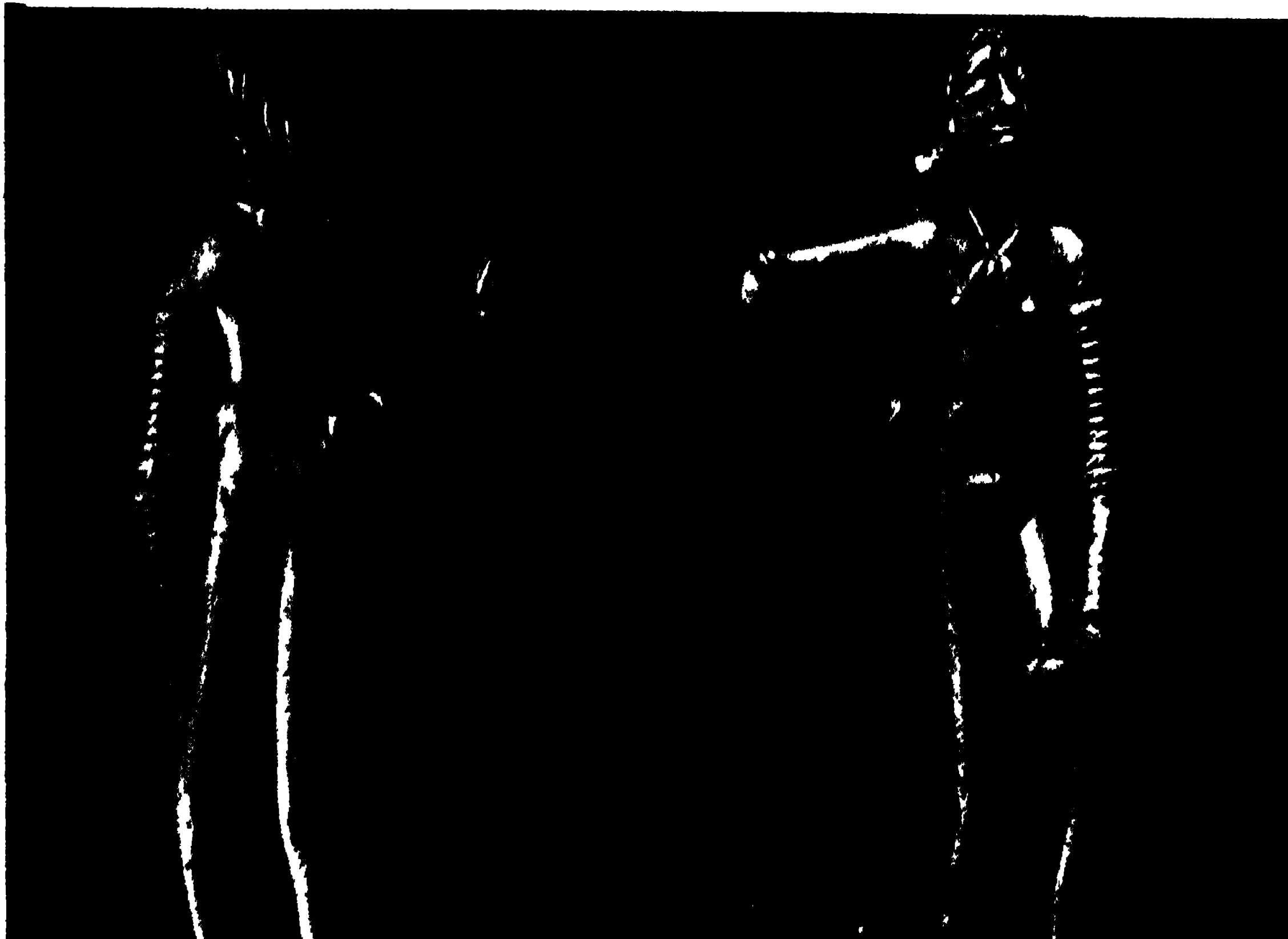
The pillar reliefs of Bharhut provide excellent examples of foot positions and body flexions which we have not noticed hitherto. Practically, all the *yakṣas* and *yakṣīs* strike significant poses but the *Cūlakokā Devatā* (figure 3), the *Sudarśanā Yakṣī* (figure 4) and the *Candra Yakṣī*²³ are most important from our point of view. In these reliefs, we come across the *kuñṭita* foot; also, for the first time the outward flexion of the knee is noticed: both these positions were to become more stylized in Indian sculpture, so much so that by the 12th century there is hardly a dancing figure which does not use the *kuñcita pāda* position and outward flexed *kṣipta* position of the knees.

Cūlakokā Devatā (figure 3) holds the branch of the tree in her right *muṣṭi* or *śikhara hasta*, and clasps the trunk of the tree with her left arm which has a clearly defined *patākā hasta*. Her right leg has a *samapāda* foot and carries the weight of the body, and, since it does so, the hip is thrown out slightly; the left leg is comparatively free to clasp the tree with an outward flexion of the knee, and a *kuñcita pāda*. We cannot yet discover a *cārī* or a *sthāna* in this pose and the *aśvagrānta sthāna* prescribed by Bharata for the clasping of the tree in the representation of the *aśoka dohada* motif is not seen here. The *Sudarśanā Yakṣī* (figure 4) has an even more significant pose of the legs, for without clasping the tree one of the knees is in an outward bend and the *kuñcita* foot almost crosses the *samapāda* foot at the back. The *sūcī* foot mentioned by Bharata is not clearly seen, but the foot position is suggestive of it. The right hand of the *Yakṣī* is in *sūcīmukha hasta* and the left hand is held near the hips in a *śikhara hasta*.

In the sculptures of Sāñcī we find that this clasping of the tree becomes the set pattern of these *śālabhañjikā* figures, and three distinct types of *yakṣīs* and *śālabhañjikās* are seen. There are the bracket figures like the *yakṣīs* or *vrkṣakā* (dryads)



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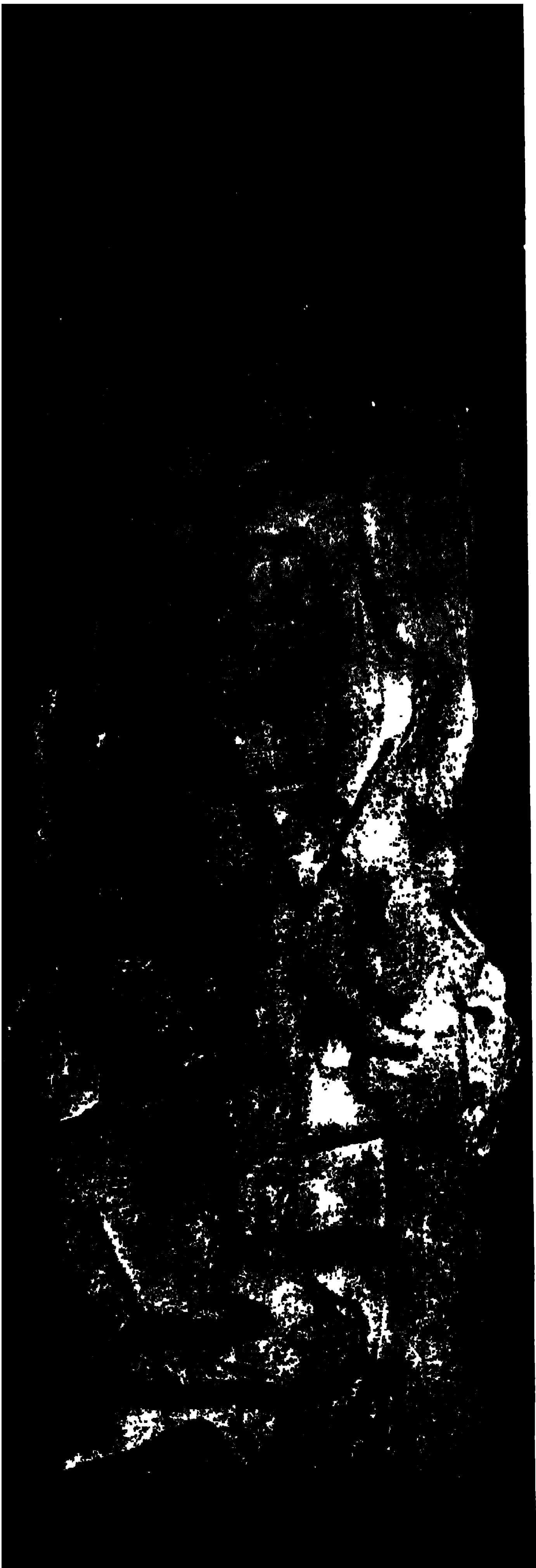
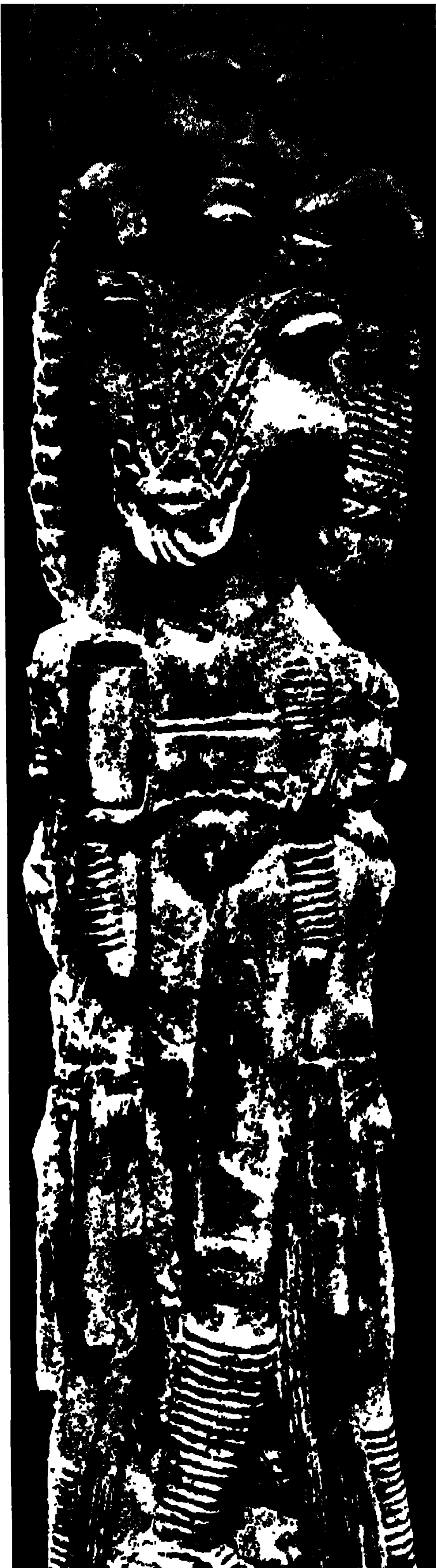






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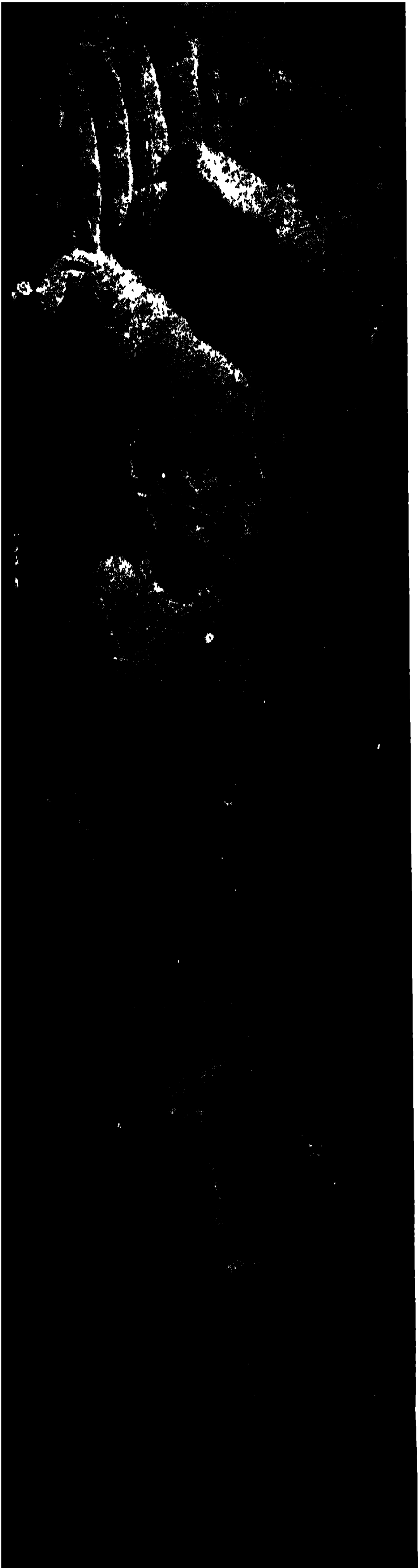






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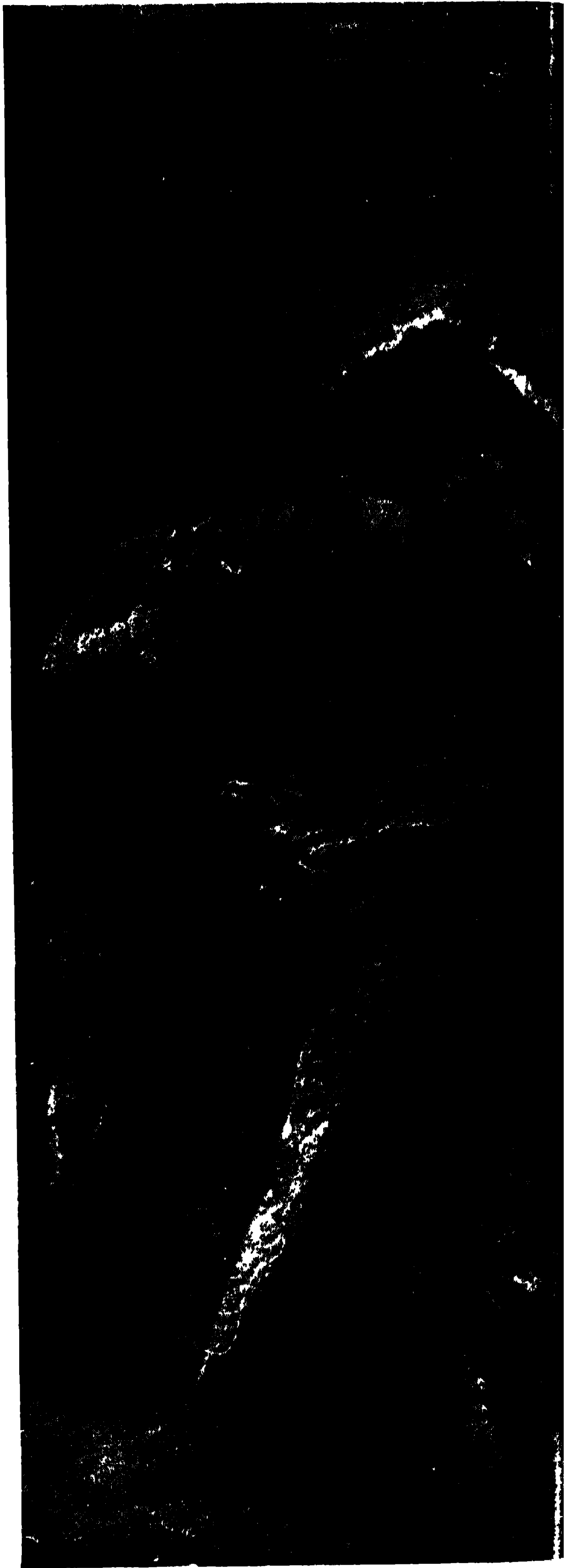


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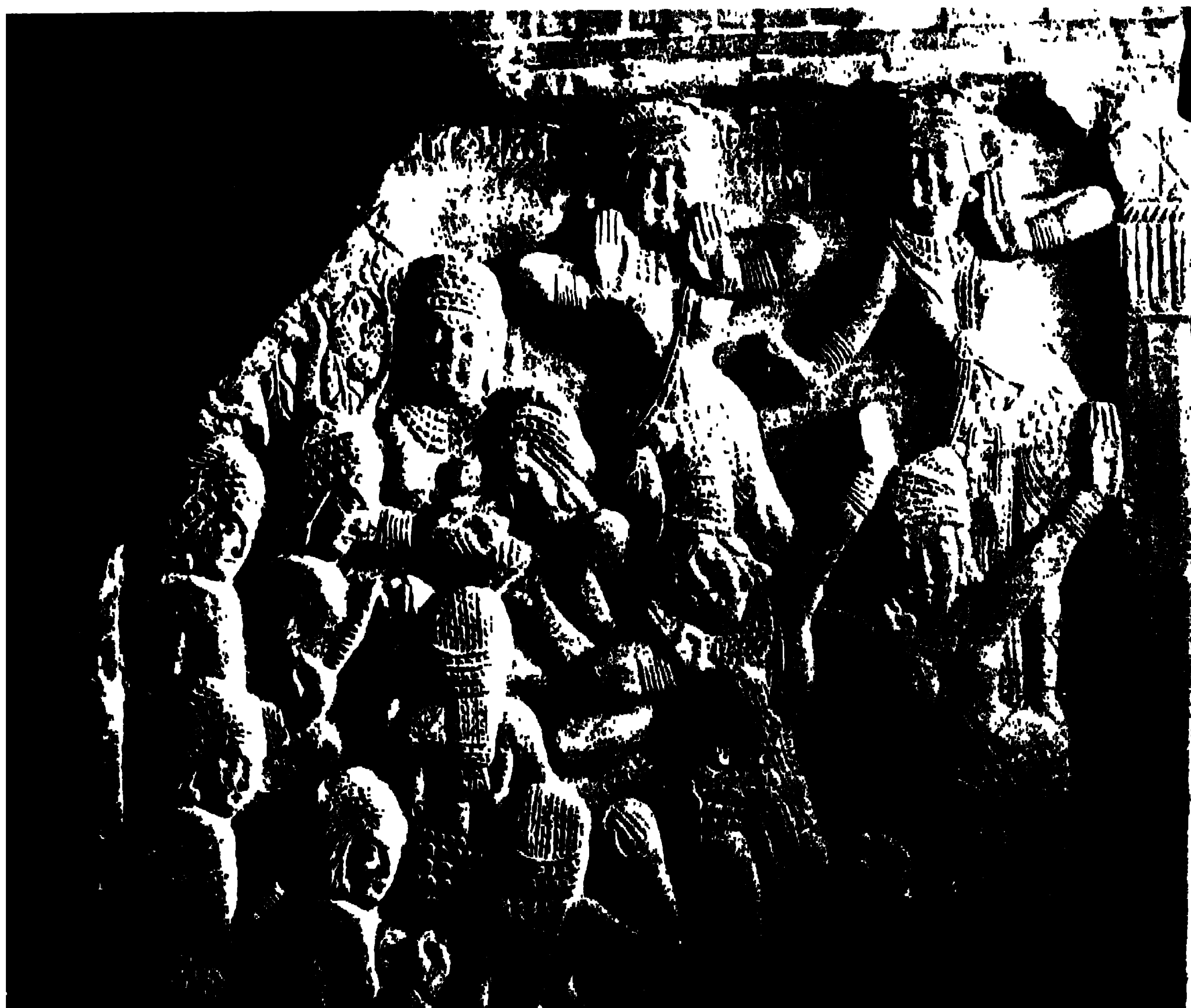






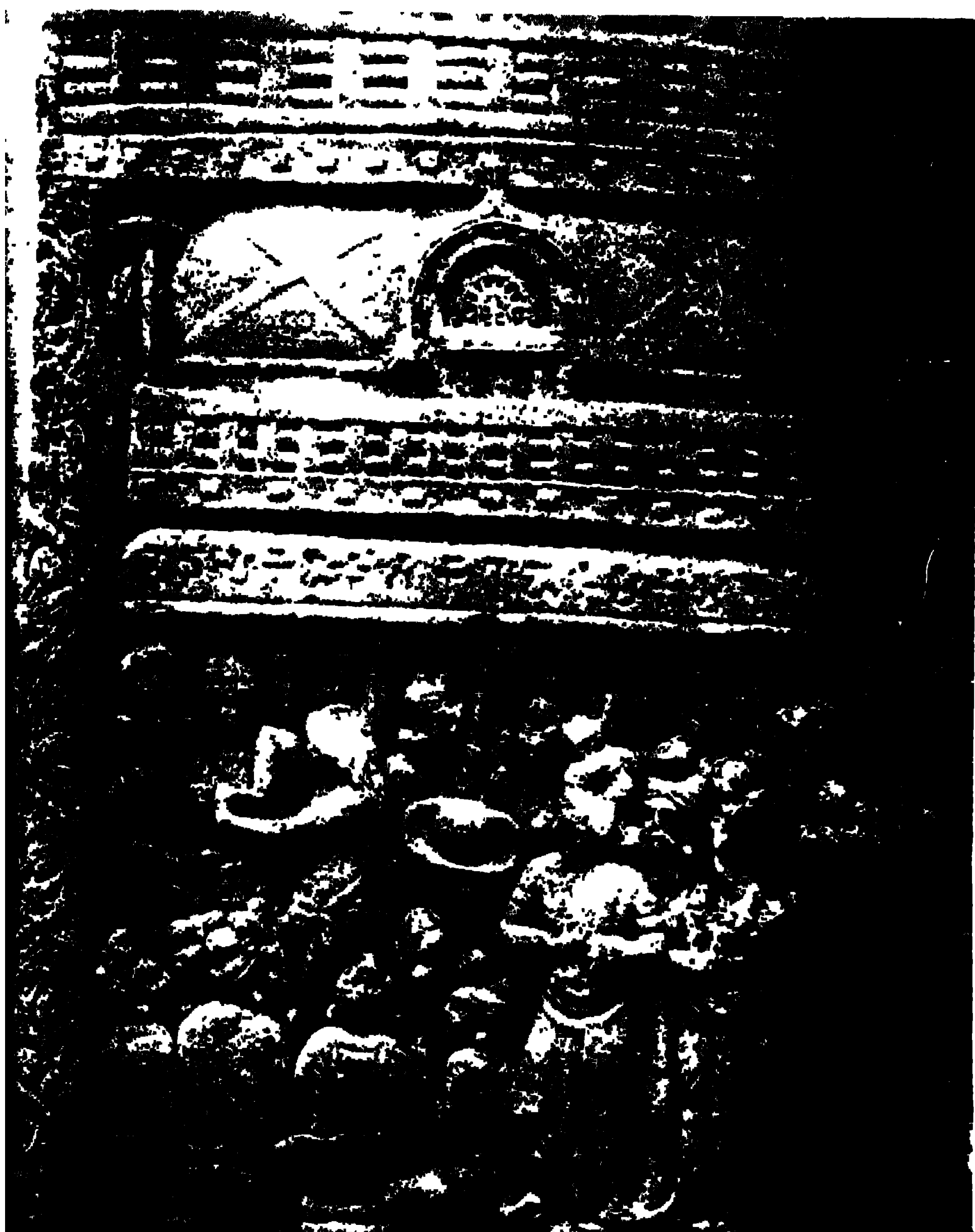
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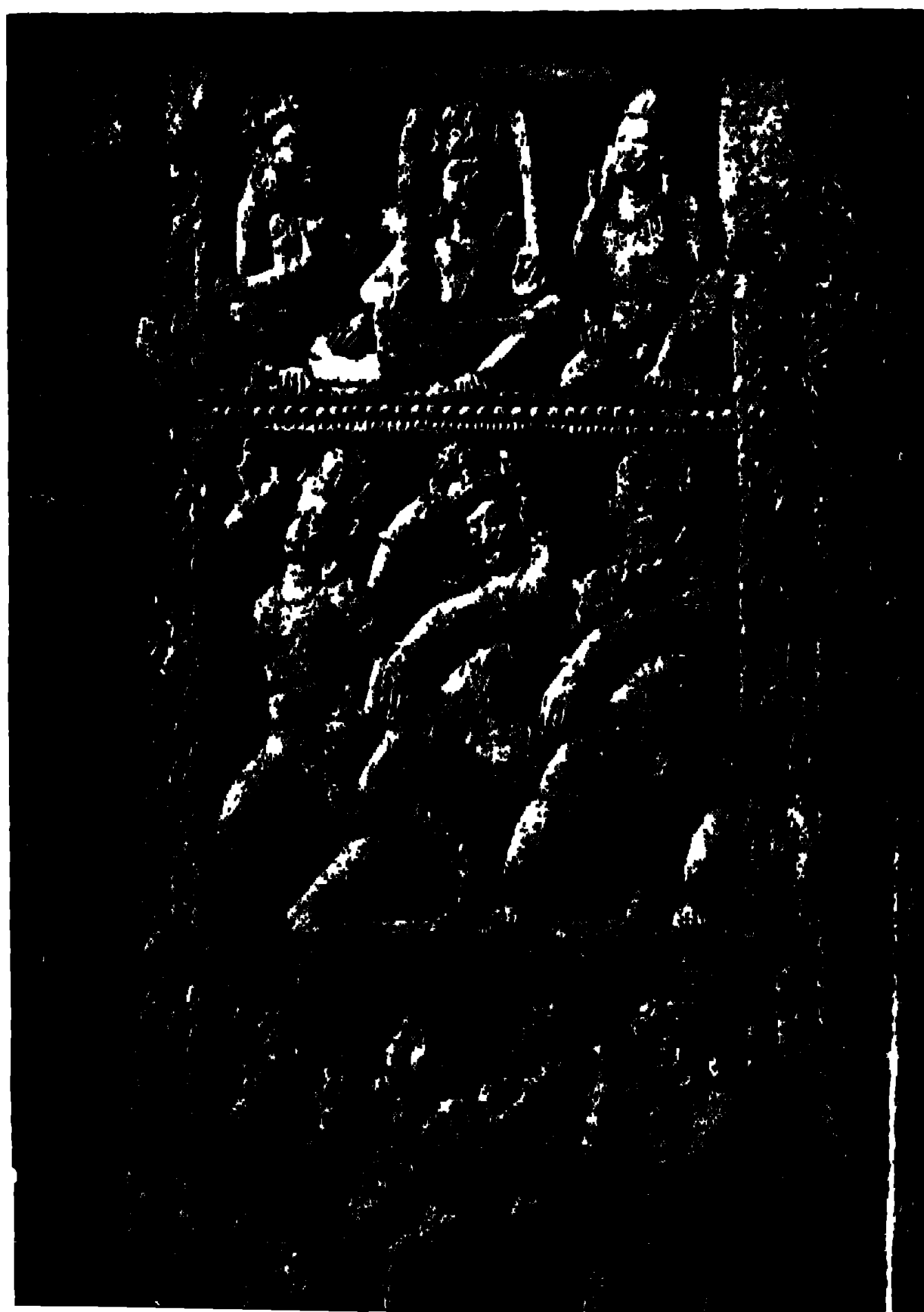
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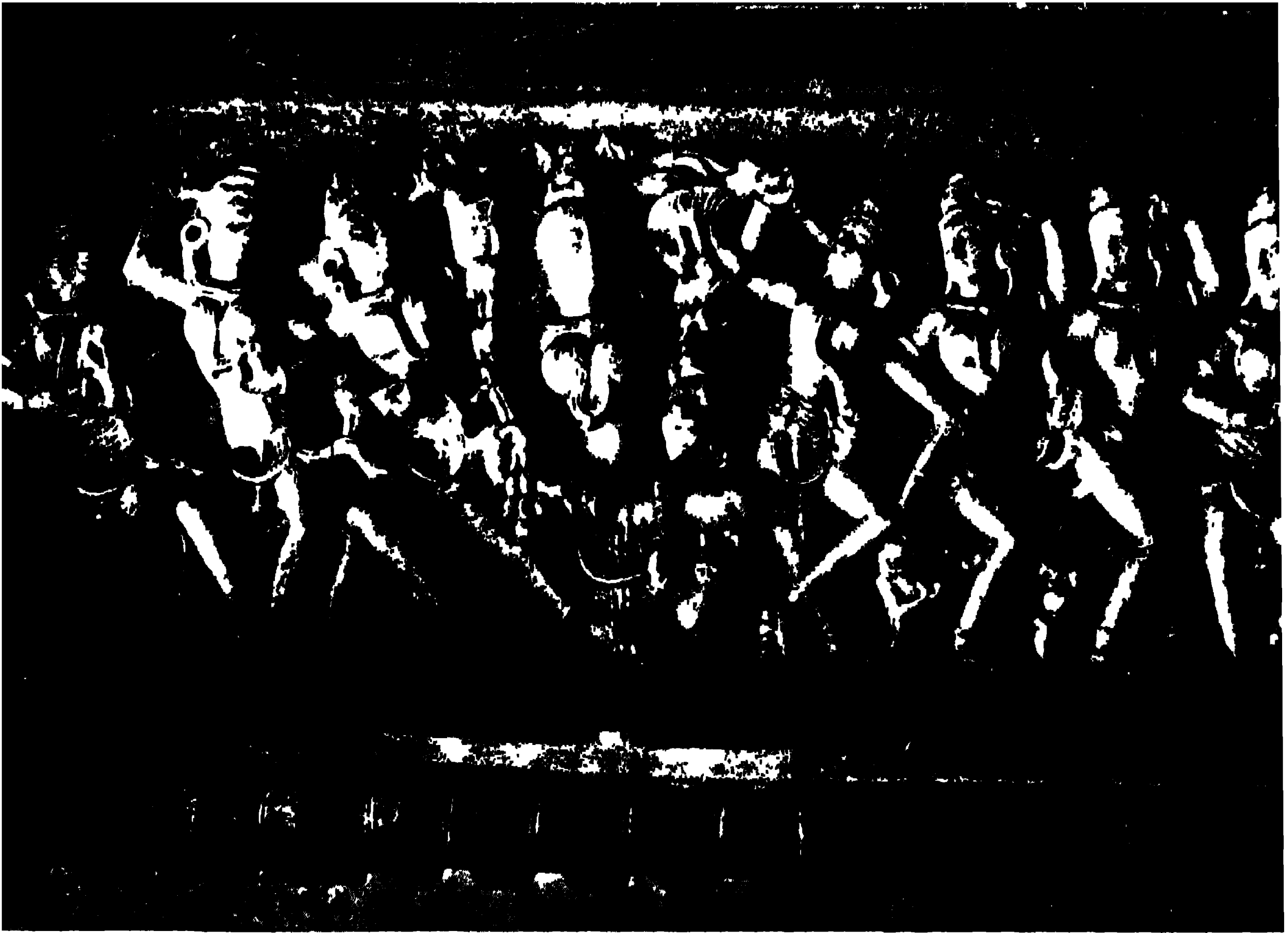
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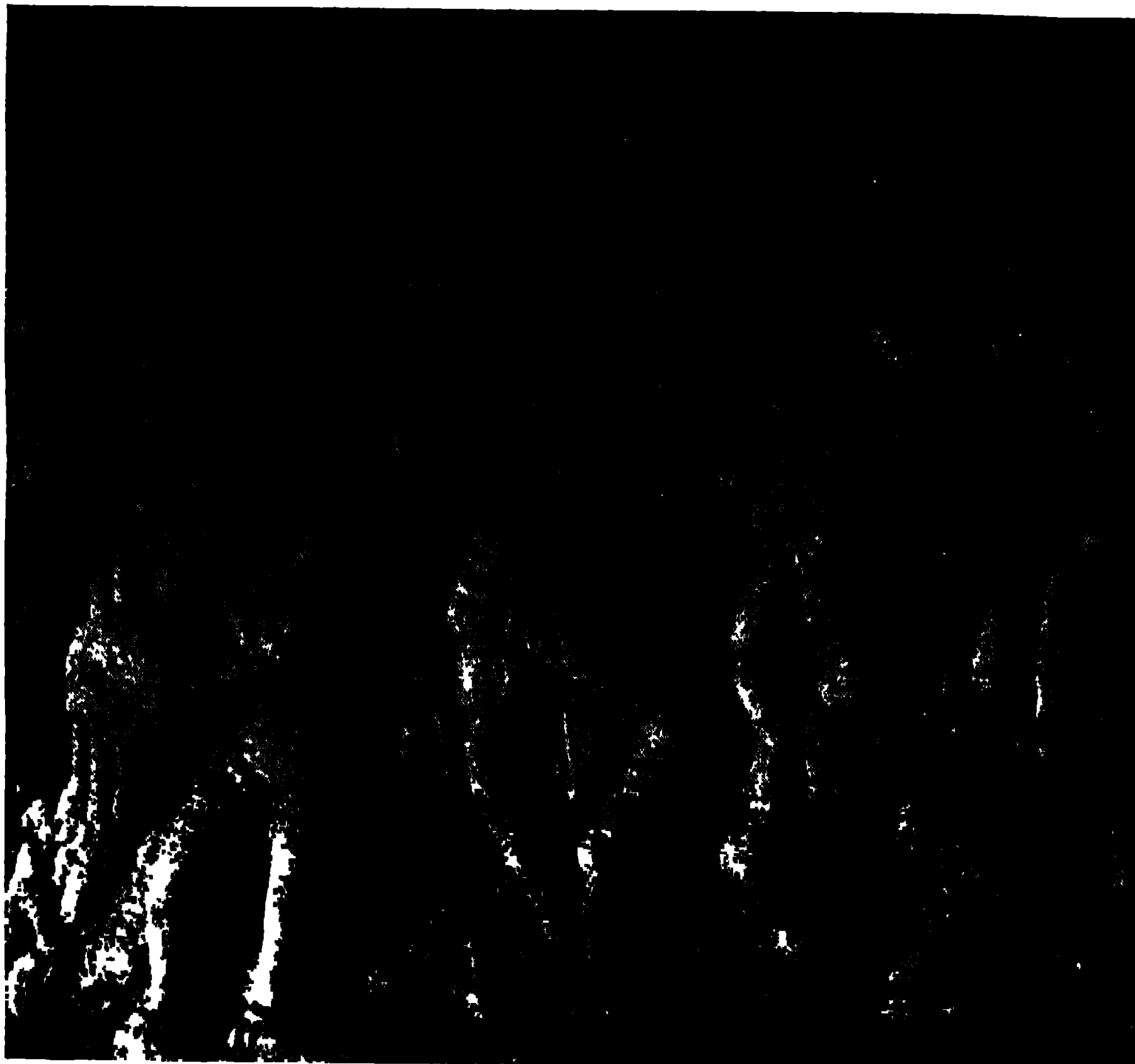


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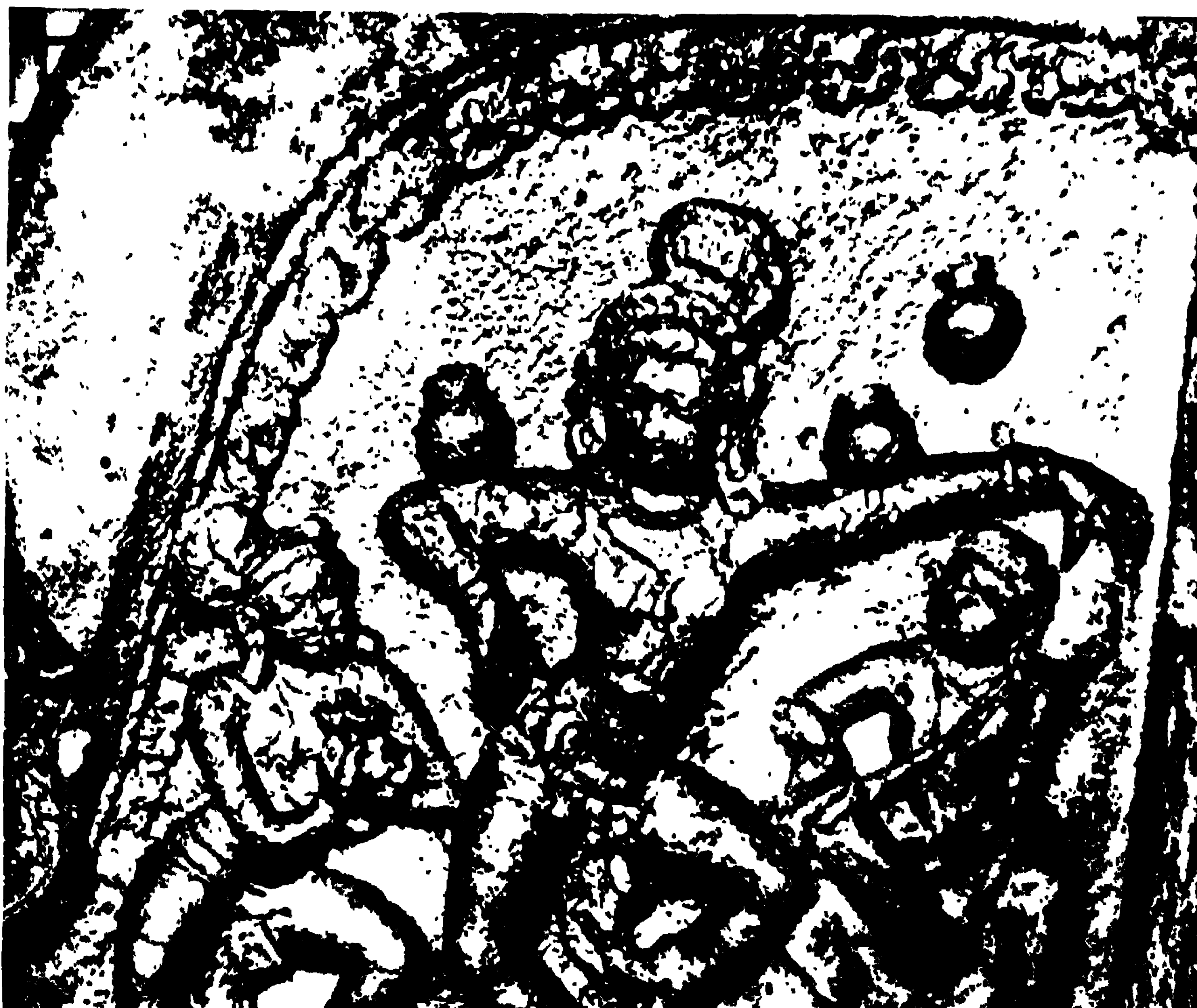








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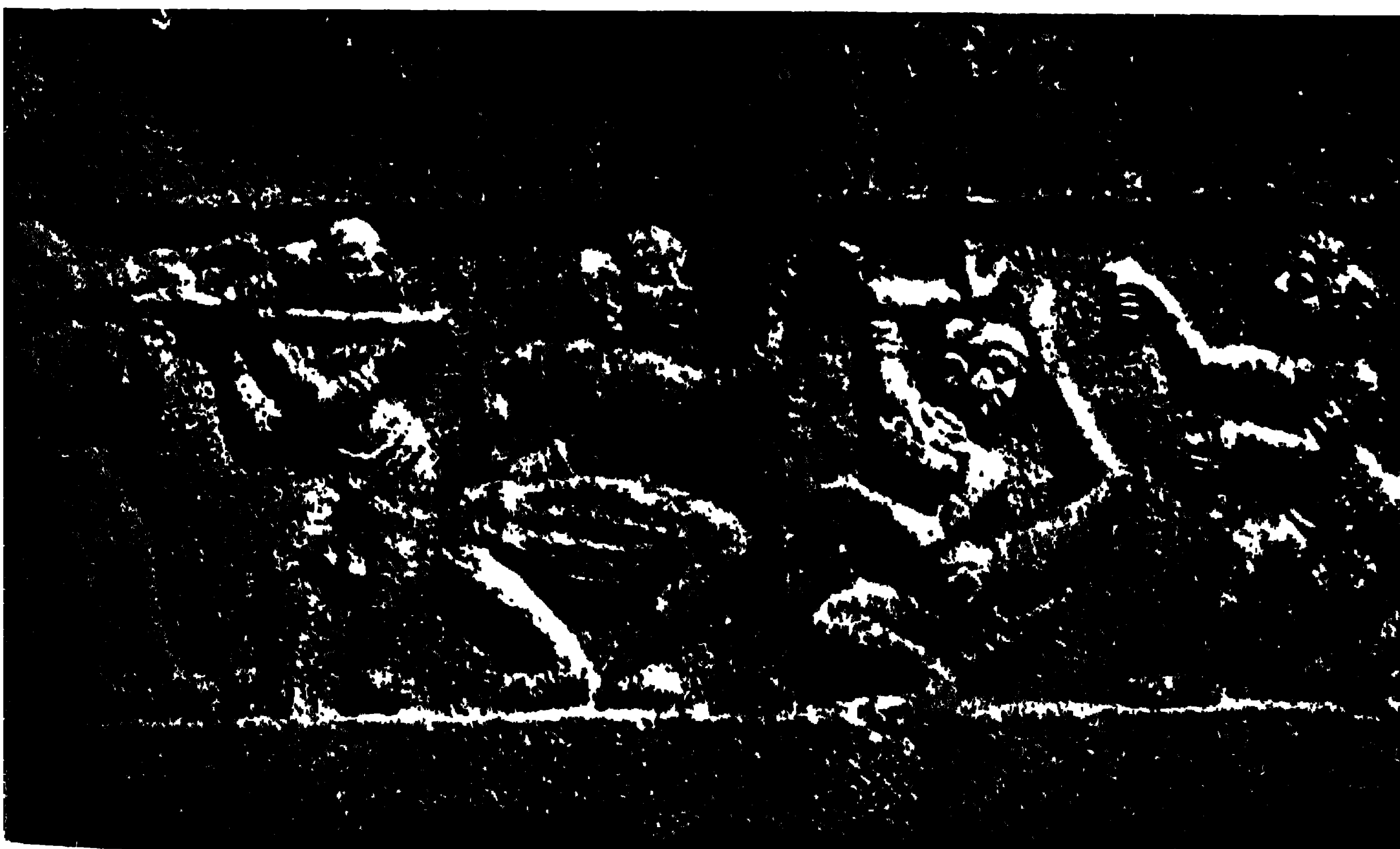
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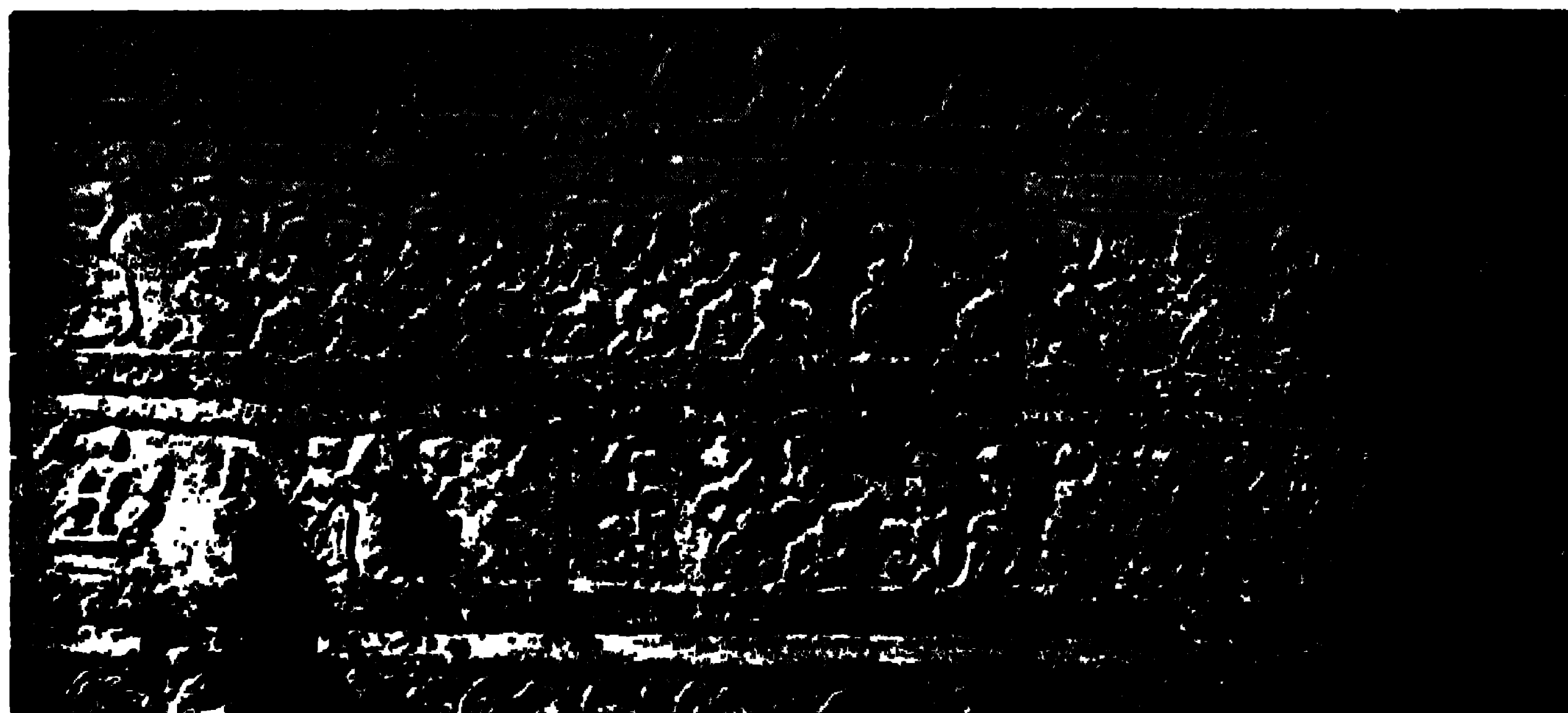
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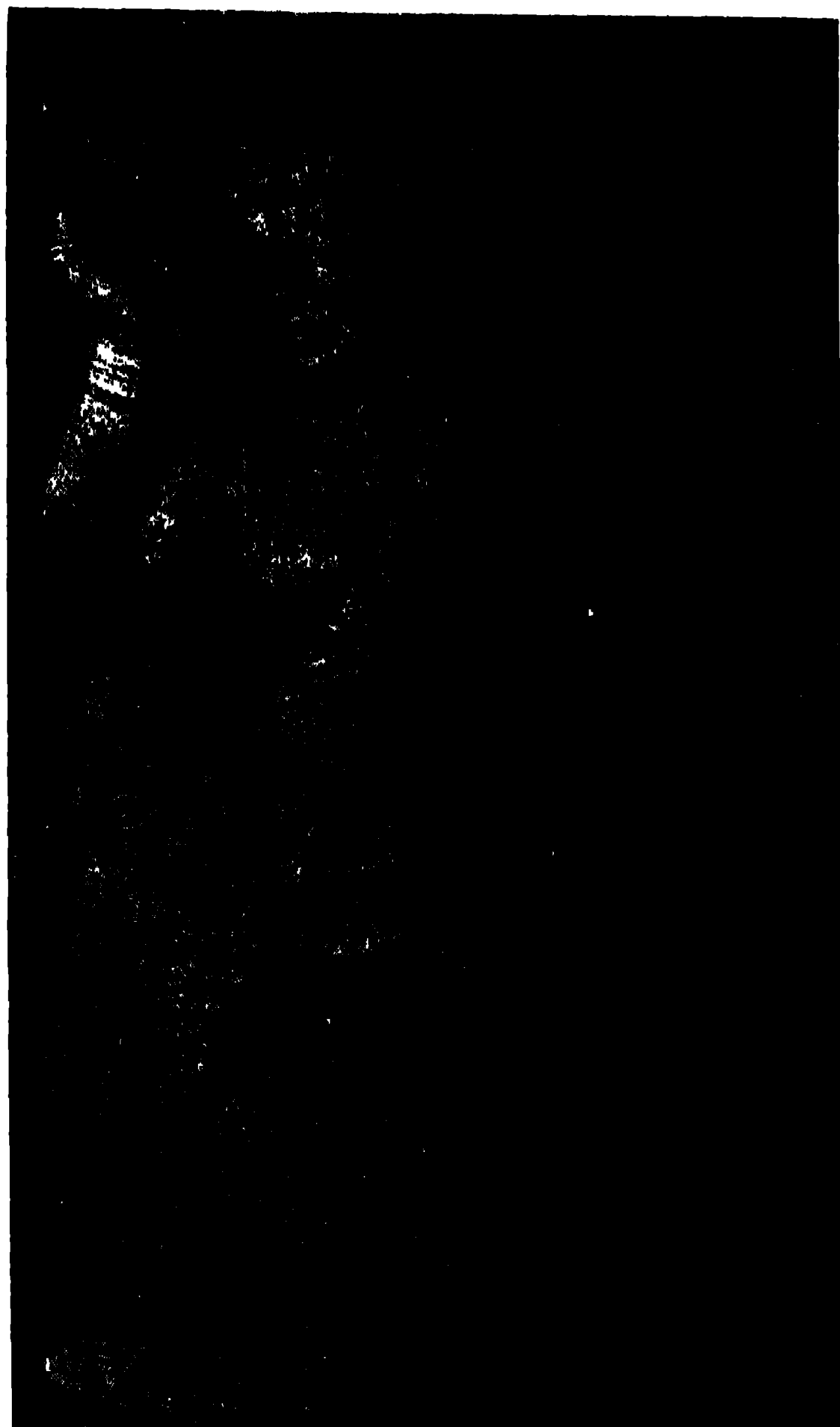


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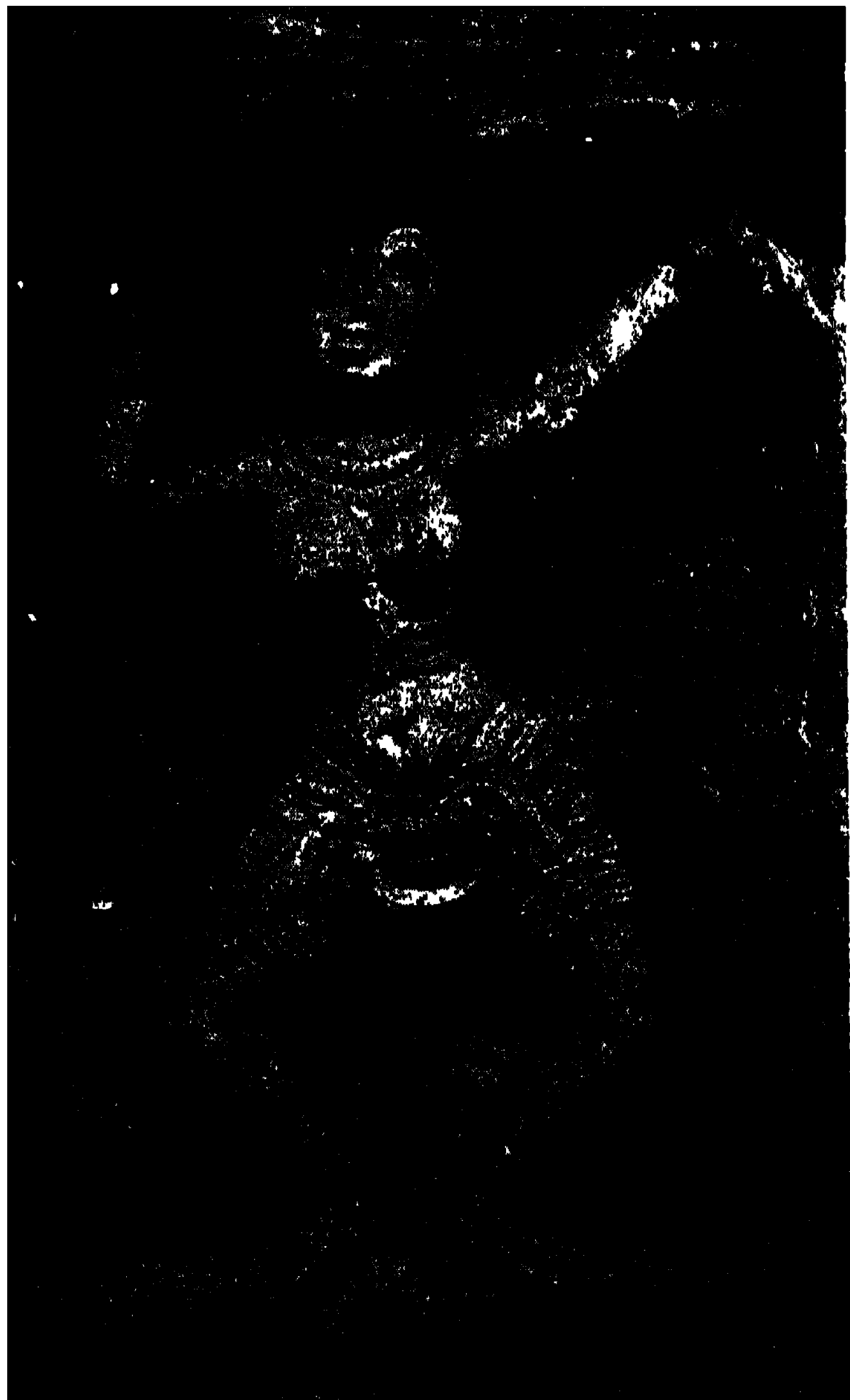




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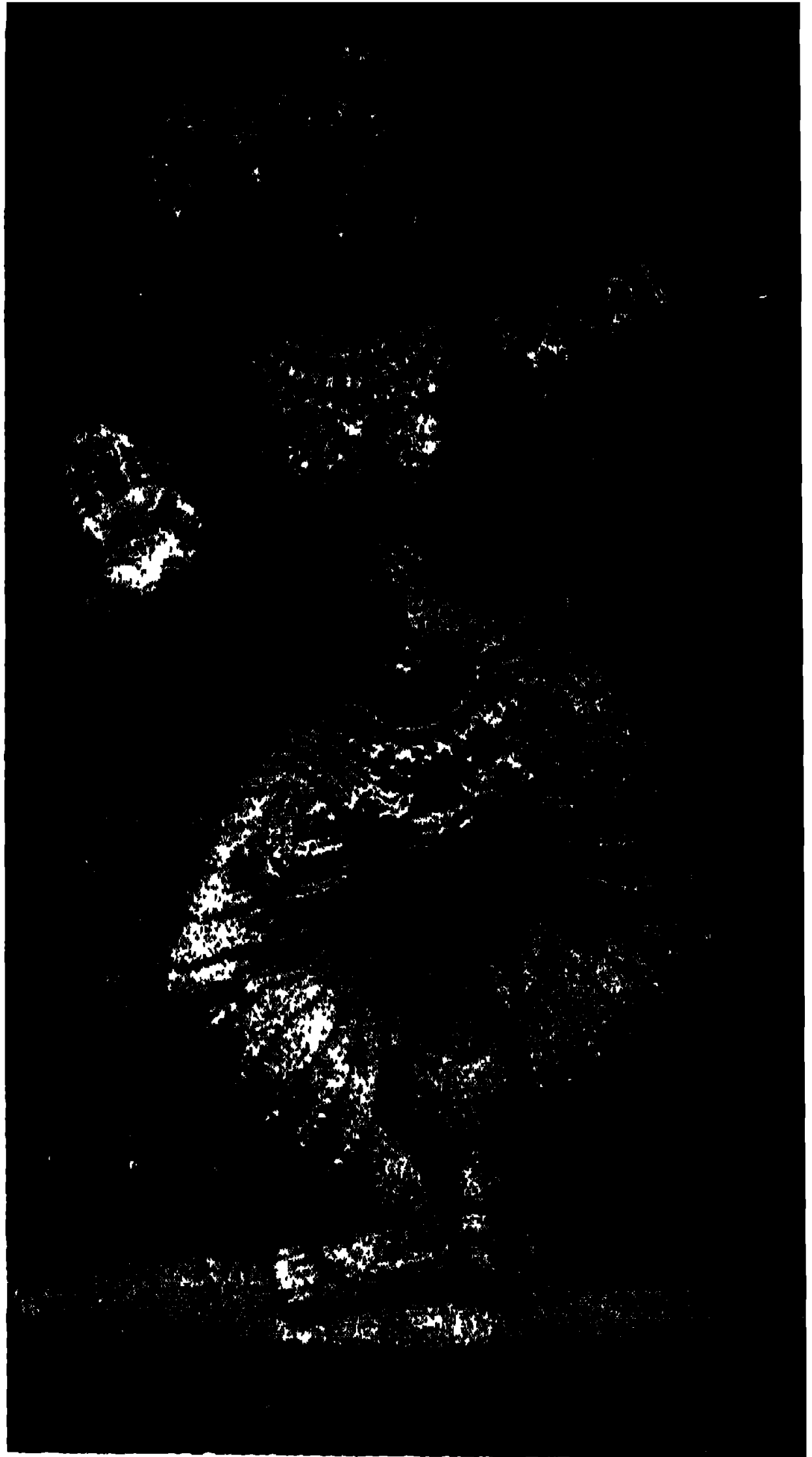


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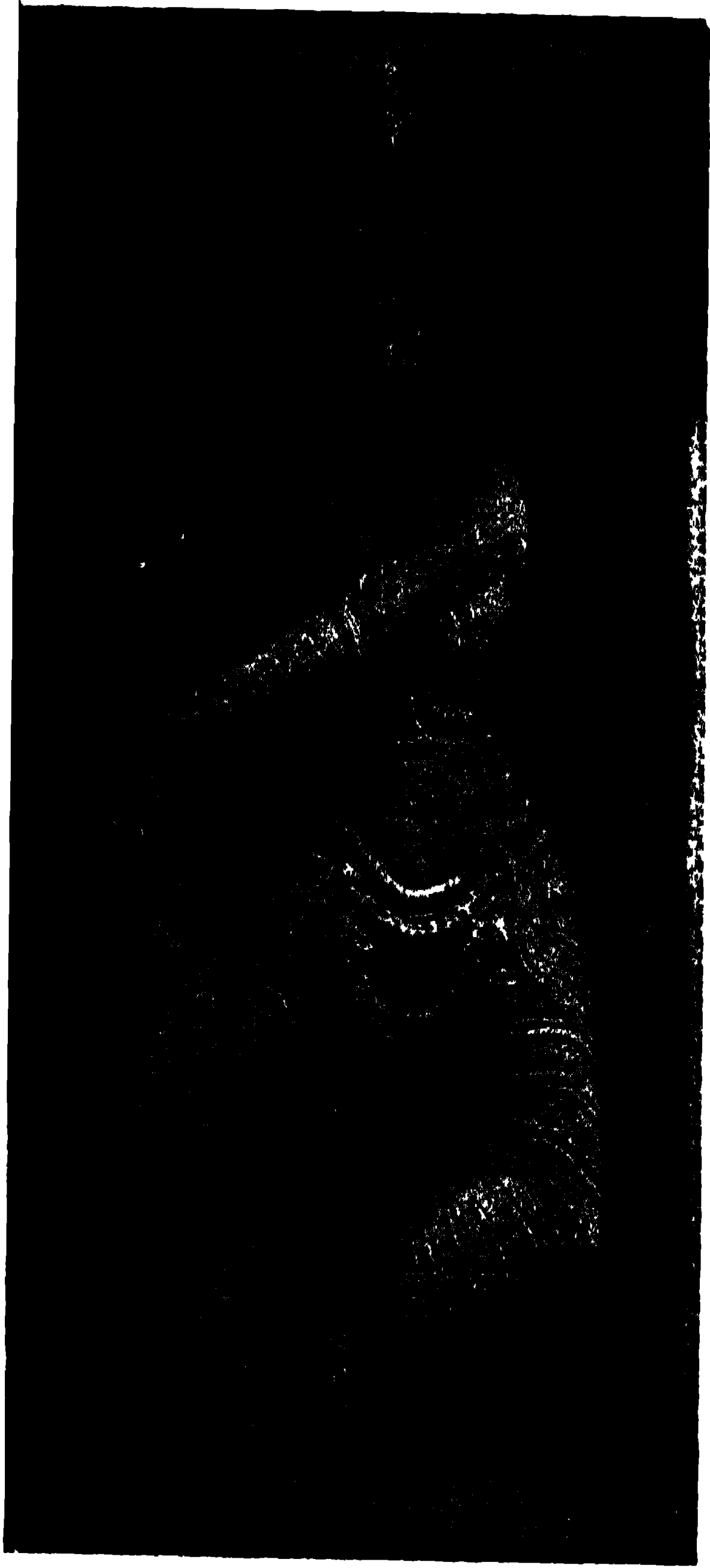




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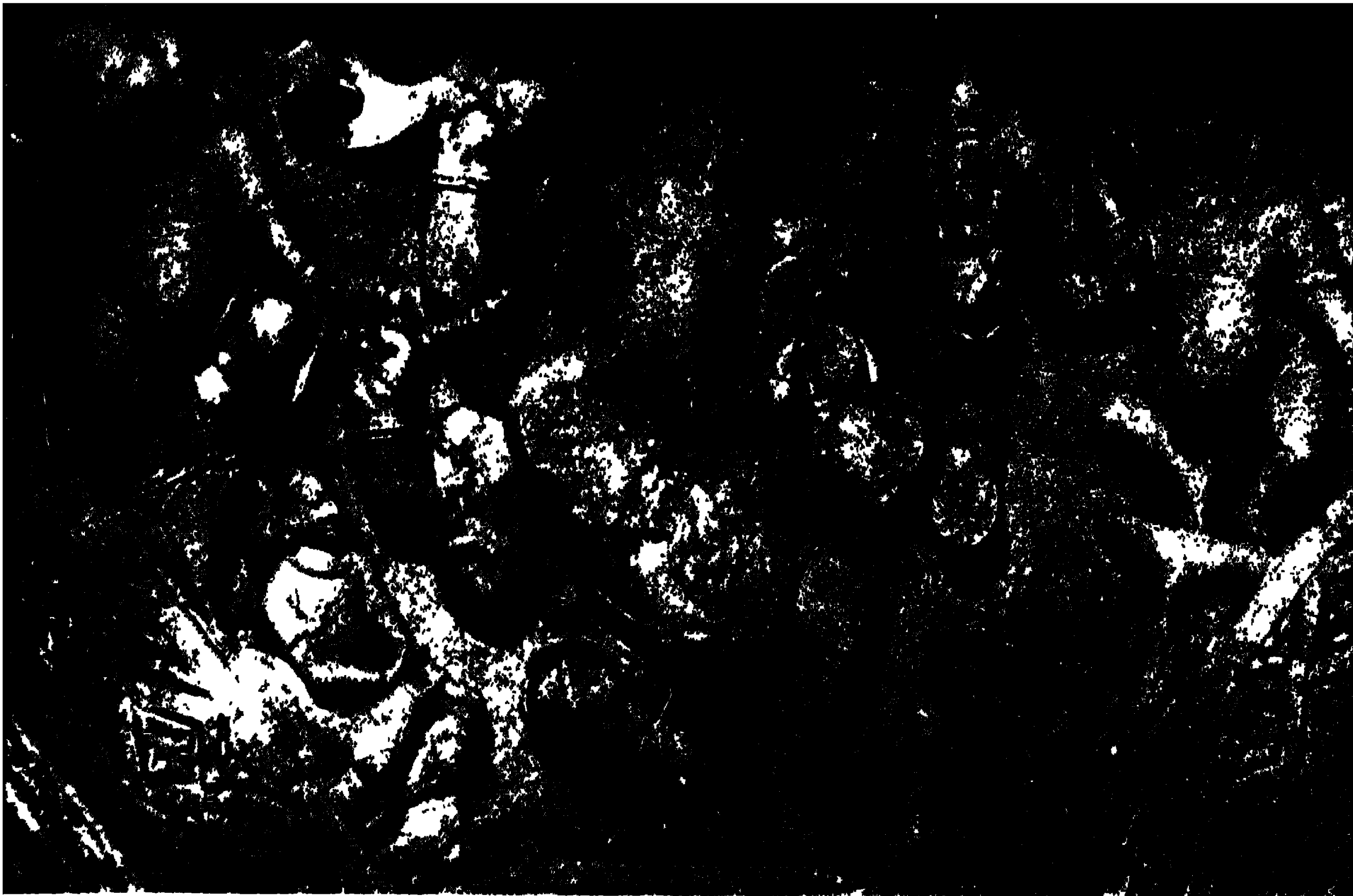


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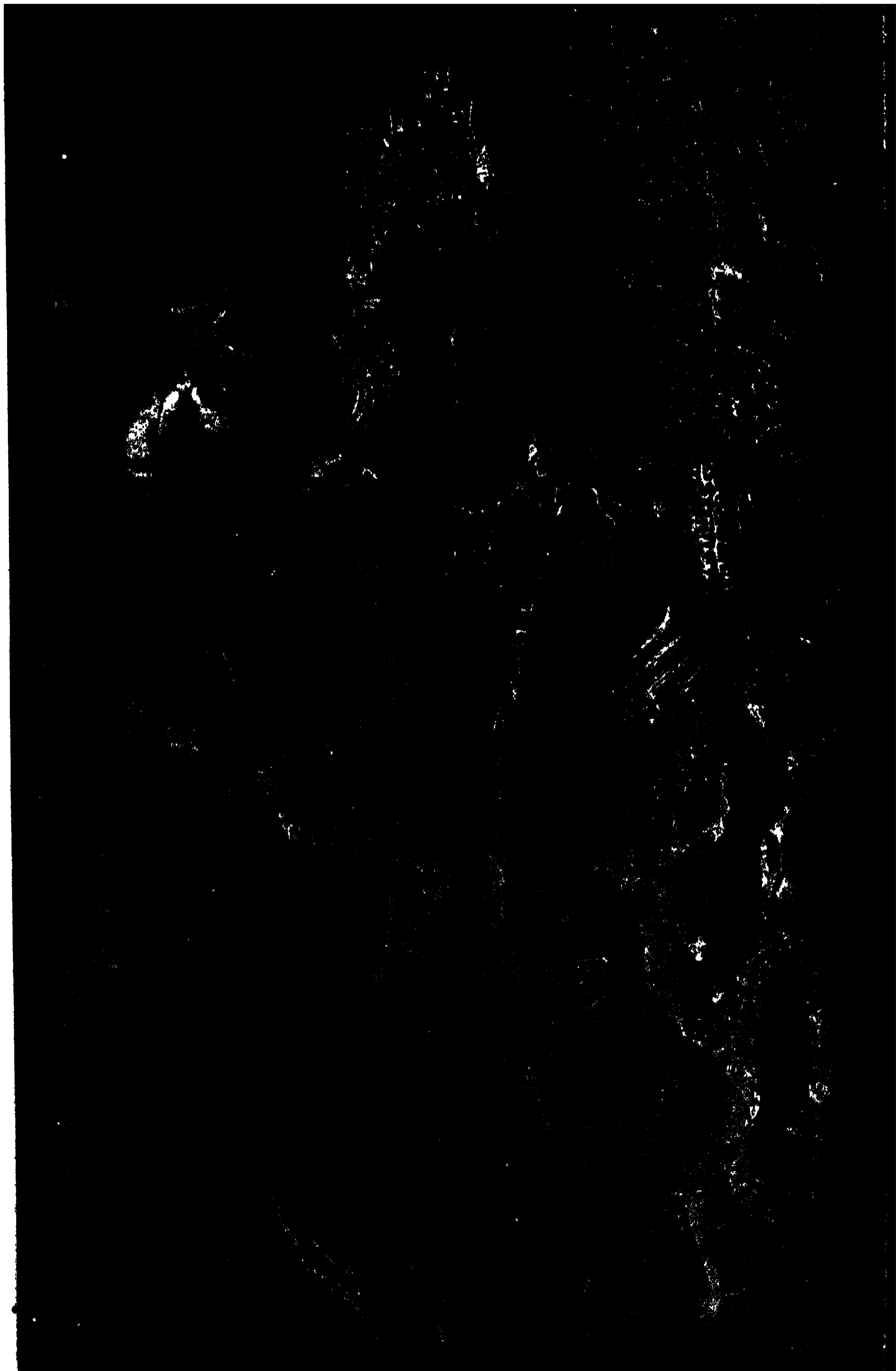














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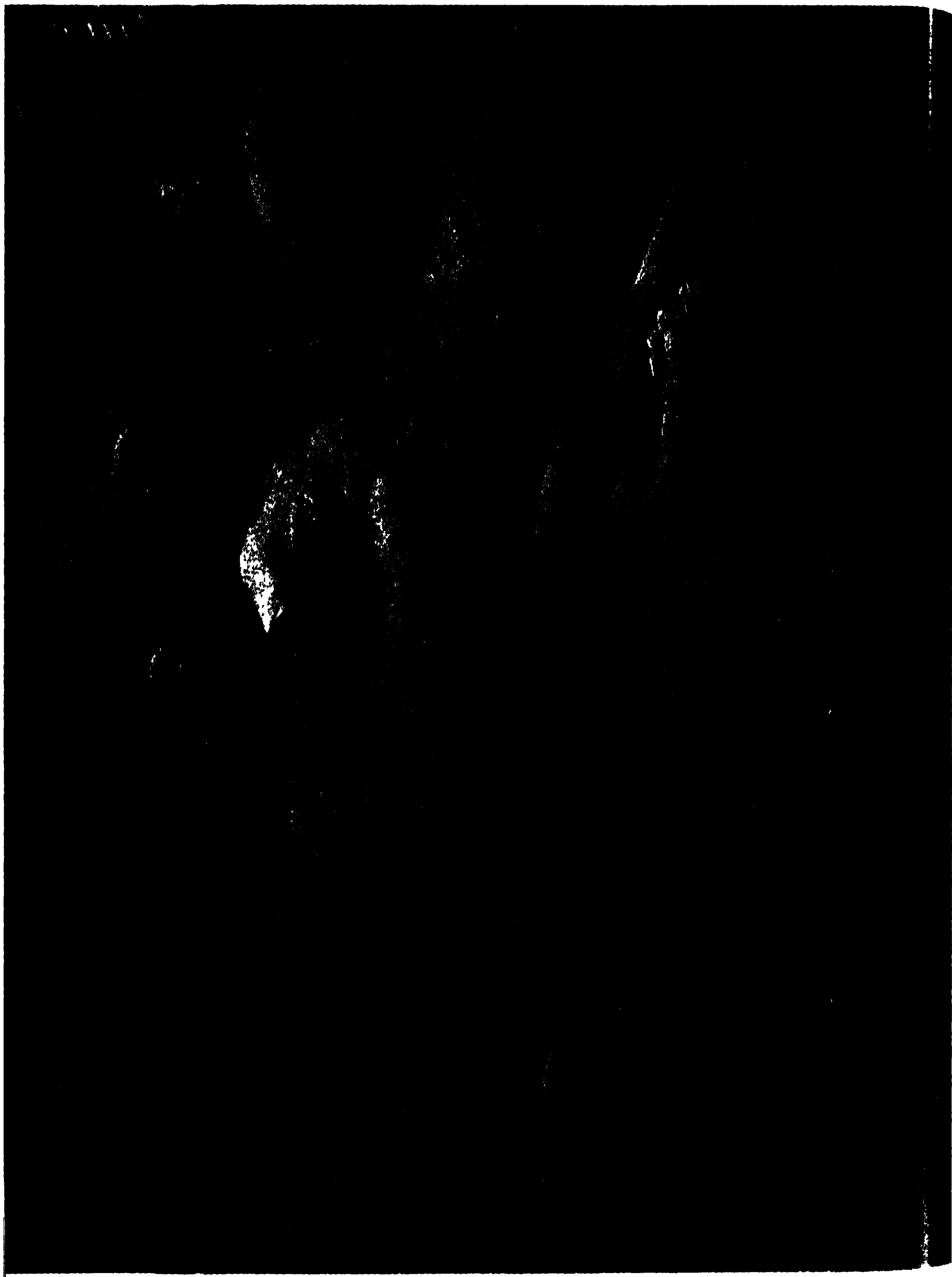
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of the East Gate, who clasp the tree with one arm only and hold the branch of the tree with the other: there are those which clasp the tree with one leg and one arm but which is different from the representation seen in the *Cūlakokā Devatā* (figure 3) of Bharhut. There are then the figures which have a slight forward movement of one leg and show a back flexion of the knee joint: the front extended *samapāda* foot touches the tip of the tail of the elephant and the back flexed leg is lifted up and placed on the trunk of the tree. All three types of figures²¹ show greater agility and suppleness than the Bharhut figures. The uplifted leg and the back flexion of the leg is noticed for the first time, this gained popularity and became a frequent pose in the later representation of the *śālabhañjikā* motif in Indian sculptures. These figures do not depict dancing poses but they treat space in the same manner as in dancing. The pose of figure 5 (*Yakṣī* of the North Gate) is suggestive of the *aśvakrānta sthāna* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*,²⁵ even though it is not a full depiction of the *sthāna*. The *sūcī* or *āviddha cārī*²⁶ mentioned in the description of the *sthāna* in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is not seen but the crossed foot is clear. The same can be said of the flexed knee position: this back flexing of the leg takes the form of the *vṛścika* arch in medieval sculpture, and it is suggestive of the final position of the *sūcī cārī* though the position seen here is not exactly the *aśvakrānta sthāna* or the *sūcī cārī*.²⁷

Before we proceed to examine other examples of the *śālabhañjikās* and the *yakṣīs* it will be well to remember that there has been much discussion on the *śālabhañjikā* and *yakṣī* motif by writers on Indian art, and most of them have come to the conclusion that these figures do not depict dance poses, and are not sculptures of dancers either. Without going into the controversies and discussions about the significance of the *śālabhañjikā* it is necessary for us to point out that, while they may not or may depict dancers they do depict a movement of the dance, or an aspect of it,²⁸ and their movement can be often analyzed in terms of the *cārīs* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

There are many accurate illustrations of the *cārī* movements in these figures representing these motifs. One such is the beautiful and accurate representation of the *baddhā cārī* in figure 6 from Sāñcī. The crossing of the thighs of the *baddhā cārī* is very clearly seen. The figure holds the branches of the trees in two *muṣṭi hasta* in *recita*.

The ivory statuette of Lakṣmī from Pompeii (figure 8) is another fine example of the *baddhā cārī* position (NŚ, X. 21) where we find that the calves and the thighs are crossed, and the goddess stands in a very restrained twist of the upper body: the placing of the feet is important, because the crossing at the thigh level is not frequently noticed in Indian sculpture before the Amarāvati period: there are a few isolated examples of it in Mathurā, but the present figure like the Sāñcī figure is a very clear depiction of the *baddhā cārī* position

The stone hedge of Bodha Gaya (figure 7) showing a man holding one foot of a girl while she embraces the tree with the other, is very closely related to the *yakṣīs* and the *śālabhañjikās* of Bharhut and Sāñcī. The uplifted leg of some of the Sāñcī *yakṣīs* is also seen in this figure; we also notice that there is greater ease of movement in the present example. The *kuñcita* foot of the raised leg is clear and the waist is deflected to the opposite side. The Bodha Gaya sculpture has a suppleness which becomes characteristic of the Indian dance sculpture from the Amarāvati period onwards. This twisting and pushing out of the waist could be identified as the *prasārita* movement; the feet can be clearly identified as the final position of the *aśvagrānta sthāna*. The *naṭī* from Pāṭaliputra is again one of those sculptures which cannot really be classed as either the *śālabhañjikā* or the *yakṣī* or even as a figure depicting necessarily dance pose, but the balance and poise of the *samapāda* position of this figure, with the hand pose makes it a significant point of development. The feet are in *samapāda* but one of them might have been in a *tryaśra* position; it appears that the point just before the *āyata sthāna*²⁹ is depicted: her right hand is in *ardhacandra* or may be in *ūrṇanābha* but the first is more likely; the left hand is in a relaxed *muṣṭi hasta*.

The Mathurā railing figures are more naturalistic in their portraiture and these examples of sculptural relief have a remarkable quality of spontaneity about them: this spontaneity, nevertheless, is expressed through the perfectly conceived sculpture of the period. Figures 9, 10, 11, 12 are but only a few examples from the innumerable types of *śālabhañjikās*, *yakṣīs* and female forms found on the railing pillars of Mathurā.³⁰ These figures depict several motifs. Dr. V. S. Agrawala has divided them into twelve categories: there are women who bathe under the fall (*nirjhara-snāna*): there are those that show the *aśoka dohada* motif, and those that sport with parrots (*śukakrīḍā*) and those that hold the sword (*khadgābhinaya*), etc. Our concern is not with the thematic differences of these female figures; we are concerned only with the variety of postures they strike during all these movements. All the figures show a beautiful crossing of the feet; this *svastika* of the feet is seen in figures 9, 10, 11, 12, and in many other figures on the Mathurā pillars. The crossing is, however, of a different variety from what we saw in the Lakṣmī from Pompeii; in three figures (9, 10, 12) the foot crosses in front in *kuñcita* or almost a *agratalasañcara* position. The knee of the crossed foot is in a *kṣipta* position in all the figures, and the toes of the *kuñcita* foot touch the ground (except in figure 11) as in the Bharhut sculptures. The lightness of the foot is seen at its best in fig. 11, where the crossed leg is free and is resting against the wall suggesting a loss of contact with the ground. The *svastika* position of the feet is mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* several times both in the context of the *cārīs* and the *karaṇas*. The *svastika* position in the Mathurā sculptures approximates to the *sthitāvarta*³¹ *cārī* more than any other movement mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The crossed foot has to be identified as an *agratalasañcara* foot in each case. The hand positions are also full of rhythm in all the figures and, even though they were

perhaps not modelled according to Bharata's definitions, we can easily identify the position of the hands and the arms in figure 12 as the final position of the *uromaṇḍala nṛtta hastas*³² according to which after circling around one hand is held on top, and the other is hung down near the hips. Figure 12 does not show the right arm of the figure in complete relaxation but a *muṣṭi hasta* near the navel is clearly visible. The hands of figure 9 are interesting: they are held at the back of the neck, possibly in the *karkaṭa saṁyuta hasta*³³ a gesture which is seen in some styles of contemporary dancing as well: the elbow and the arm positions of the figure may also be identified as the *keśabandha nṛtta hastas*³⁴ where the two hands move out from the nape of the neck. The hand positions of figure 10 are charming for their symmetry: both hands are lifted to catch the branch of a tree at the head level: two *muṣṭi hasta* hold the branches of the tree on top of the head: had the hands been *alapadma* instead of *muṣṭi*, then the gesture could have been identified as the *lalita nṛtta hasta*.³⁵ The *dola hasta* and the *sūcī mukha hasta* is seen in other figures from Mathurā. The *abhaṅga* posture is also beautifully represented in many of these figures where the weight of the figure seems to rest on the left leg, and the right leg is free to move.³⁶ Another feature which deserves notice in these figures is the waist and side (*pārśvā*) movement. The *nata* position of the *pārśva* is often seen in these figures, and, occasionally, a twist of the *trika* is also implied in some positions.

By the time we come to Amarāvati, we find that a certain amount of stylization has been achieved and that all the forms and methods of movement depiction of Mathurā are being followed both in a restrained manner and with a view to experimenting freely within the broad limitation imposed by limited space. Dance scenes and different types of poses, some of which can be identified with the dance poses described in the movements of the *karāṇas* of Bharata, can be seen in this period. Fig. 13 is a unique example of extraordinary restraint and poise. The *kuñcita* foot crosses the *saṁapāda* leg behind and a variation of the *sthitā-varta* position is depicted. This back crossing is reminiscent of the leg position of the *sudarśanā yakṣī* (figure 4) and much later in Cidambaram this back-crossing with the *kṣipta* position of the knees is used to depict the *nūpurpādikā karāṇa*. The *nata* bent of the *pārśva* (side) is also clearly seen in the relief from Amarāvati: the hands are also suggestive of an inward collecting together rather than throwing out movement characteristic of other sculpture from Amarāvati. The right hand is held on the chest in a *sūcī mukha asaṁyuta hasta* and the left hand clasps the fruit of the tree above with a flexed arm. The inclination of the head is an important feature of the sculpture, and we find that the *nata* movement of the neck or a *adhogata*³⁷ position of the head is suggested by the figure. One other example of an isolated figure from Amarāvati³⁸ presents a complete contrast to the earlier figure. Here, we have an *apsarā* or a detached figure in a pose which is obviously a dance pose, and it could with justification be classified as such. The *apsarā* stands on a lotus with two *kuñcita* feet, and a marked *kṣipta* position of the knees: the *ūrdhva-*

jānu cārī with one *kuñcita* foot thrown up to the side is seen here without doubt.³⁹ The hand movement seems to be the final position of the *uromaṇḍala nṛtta hasta*: one hand is on top and the other is hung down resting on the thigh. This is one of the earliest examples of the *ūrdhvajānu cārī* in Indian sculpture.

The *śālabhaṅjikā* motifs in the *gāndhāra* sculpture are not significant for our purpose: nevertheless, we notice that this motif is seen in a stylized manner also in these sculptures, and here, too, the crossing of the feet at the calf level is a characteristic feature. Even the Bacchus on the left side of the aachen pulpit holds a stance which is similar to those seen in the earlier Hindu sculpture.⁴⁰ But we need not go into the details of the *Gāndhāra* school, for the main stream of Indian sculpture finds its finest and most refined and chiselled expression in the sculptures of the Gupta period, ranging from the door jambs of the Deogarh temple to the Gaṅgā and Yamunā figures of the Ajantā and Elurā caves. The terracottas of Mainpurī, Ahicchatrā, Rājaghāt, the figures on the walls of the temples of Tezpur (Assam), and the river goddess of Besnagar, Ajantā and Elurā show an integrated tradition which was common to different parts of India.

The sculptured reliefs of medieval India are characterized by the sculptors' desire to use the twist of the torso. Gupta sculpture is peculiar for its flowing restraint, precision and elegance. This is in contrast to the flowing effervescence of the Amarāvati and the Nāgārjunikoṇḍā periods.

Figure 14, terracotta from Gundanpur (near Mainpurī, 5th century, A.D.) is significant for its directness of approach, and the two *karkṣṭa* hastas near the head denote a dance movement obviously. The legs may have been in a *svastika* position. But they could have been also the flowing legs of the other Gupta figures. The *bhanga* must have *abhanga* rather than *samabhaṅga*: the *sauśṭhava* of the limbs which Bharata speaks of is quite obvious in this figure.

The Besnagar Yaksi⁴¹ is a rare example of the crossed feet position in the sculpture of the Gupta period, for most of the river goddesses stand in the *samapāda* feet with a slight flexion of one knee, just so that movement is indicated without the slightest break in the continuity of the line of rhythm. Most of the other examples of the river goddesses depict only the *samapāda* position of the feet, where one leg is slightly bent forward in *nata*,⁴² or one leg is slightly deflected to the back as in the Elurā figures of the Rameśvara cave (figure 15). The last mentioned is the most characteristic and most beautiful of the stances of the period and some of the rhythmic flow of Manipurī still captures this quality of the Gupta sculpture: there are no great deflexions or deviations from the vertical median and yet a delicate sense of movement is conveyed: this is akin to the sense of movement which is conveyed by the completely relaxed postures of Indian dancing where there is hardly any violent movement and yet a sense of rhythmical energy is conveyed.

The same pose and mellow feminine grace of movement is witnessed in the sculptures of Māmallapuram; in these shore temples, we have examples of gigantic sculpture of a colossal magnitude, but alongside, we have also examples of exquisitely restrained delicate modelling. The figure on the door jamb (figure 16) stands midway between the Gupta period and the later Cola sculptures of South India, when the torso as an unit assumes importance in both sculpture and dancing. Here she stands in full control of the movement of each unit of her body: there is no exaggeration, no over-statement, but there is a remarkable restraint in execution. One leg crosses the other in front at the calf level: the crossed foot is in *agratalasāñcara* more than in *kuñcita* for only the toes touch the ground—and the knee of this foot is in a slight *kṣipta* position. The right arm clasps the tree (stylized into a framework working vertically upwards) and rests its *ardhacandī* hands on the hips, the other hand clasps the same curved *torana*, at the level of the head: all in all, the *uromandala nṛtta hasta* position of the arms is suggested. The torso is much more firm than it has been in the earlier sculptures, and we find that the stiffening of the torso with the back depression, so characteristic of Bharatanāṭyam and South Indian bronzes, is already suggested here. Other door jamb figures in South India follow the model of the Māmallapuram figure faithfully, for we find a close second of the same figure in the Tādapatrī figure in the 15th century.

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About the 7th century we find innumerable examples of isolated figures of dancers: one of the most powerful of these is the stone relief from Pāhārpur, North Bengal (7th century) ¹⁸. On a double lotus is seen a dancer with forcefully bent knees of the acute *kṣipta* kind: the weight of the body is on the left *samapāda* foot, and the right *kuñcita* foot may take a whirl at any moment. One arm is thrown across the body in the *latā hasta* or the *karī hasta*; the left arm and the left shoulder are raised and the left hand hangs loosely from the bent forearm with the palm inwards in *patākā*. The head is bent and turned towards the right in the direction of the whirling movement. The entire composition of the figure is indeed borne by the dance. The *kṣipta* position of the knees is slightly exaggerated in the sculpture and none of Bharata's *karaṇas* seems to describe exactly this position, but the *latā hasta* of the hands is characteristic and the across swinging of the arm is common to *karaṇas* like the *catura* (*karana* 39), *lalita* (*karana* 33), *bhujangatrāsita recita* (*karana* 35) and many others.

The medieval temples of Khajurāho, Bhuvaneśvara, Hālebid, Belur and Mount Ābu vibrate with the rich beauty of the wall *surasundarīs* and bracket figures. We can hardly do justice to them in this study, for the exact identification and classification in theme and form of each of these very sophisticated figures has yet to be attempted. There is no doubt however that a great many of the poses that these wall figures assume belong to the sphere of dancing and can be identified as either the *sthānas* or *cārīs* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It must be remembered, never-

theless, that no attempt was being made by the sculptor to depict actually dance postures in these figures for he devotes himself to the depiction of dance recitals separately.

In Khajurāho we find the richest array of these figures: they are as prolific here as they were in Mathurā and show the logical culmination of the beginnings of plastic movement seen in the earliest examples of Mathurā sculpture: thematically there is hardly any departure, and we have the stylised motifs of the *kanduka krīḍā* (ball playing), the *muktā-lobhī haṁsa* motif, the sporting with the parrot (*śuka krīḍā*) motif, as we find in Mathurā, and many others like the *mahāvara* applying motif and the figures accompanying the *śārdūlas* not found in the Mathurā sculptures. Figures 17-20 give us some idea of the variety of movement treatment of these figures: the twisting round the vertical axis is a distinctive feature of the medieval figures, but apart from this, the Khajurāho artist seems to have made full use also of the plastic medium to arrest dynamic human movement at its most intense moments. Many figures show different poses in which *kanduka krīḍā* is portrayed: most of them have a *kuñcita* and a clearly defined *añcita* foot in *svastika*: the back crossing of the *nūpurapādikā-cārī*⁴³ described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is seen with an accurate *añcita* foot for the first time in Indian sculpture. Others depict what can be identified as the *prṣṭhasvastika karaṇa* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*⁴⁴ without of course suggesting the *apakrāntā cārī* mentioned in the description of the *karaṇa*. A partial *prṣṭhasvastika* can be observed in figure 17 and 18 where the crossing of the feet and the *vivartita* movement of the waist can be observed. Figure 19 depicts the *vidyudbhrāntā cārī* where a complete flexion of the leg is implied and it is when this leg is taken to the level of the head that the *karaṇa vidyudbhrāntā*⁴⁵ is formed. The female figures carrying the lute belong to the category of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā figures of the Ajantā and Elurā caves. However, the most striking example of a powerful movement which can be indentified as a *cārī* is seen in Fig. 20. This is a highly stylized depiction of the *ūrdhvajānu cārī* which we observed in its formative stages also in the Amarāvati sculptures. The firmness of the *samapāda* foot and the complete tension of the uplifted *kuñcita* foot of the *ūrdhvajānu cārī* is beautifully depicted here. The *samapāda* foot obviously does not have a *kṣipta* position of the knees like the other wall figures of the medieval temples: but the *cārī* position is obvious and is successfully presented. One hand is stretched straight down in a *dola hasta* in *patākā* and the other arm is uplifted with a flexed position of the arm: the face is turned upwards, with an *añcita*⁴⁶ movement of the neck and an *udvāhita* or more accurately an *utkṣipta*⁴⁷ movement of the head.

About the 10th century we find a figure from Champā (figure 21) which can be easily identified as a dance figure: although the lower half of the figure is broken, it clearly suggests the outward *kṣipta* position of the knees, and a clear *karihasta* position of the arms: one hand swings across the body in *latā* and the other is held near the ear exactly as in the description of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, only the hand near the

ear is not in *tripatākā* as prescribed by the text, but is possibly a *alapadma* or a *pallava hasta*. The pose also reminds us of the dancer from Pāhārpur, Bengal of the 7th century;⁴⁸ it is not uncommon to come across an almost identical pose after a lapse of three centuries in a different part of India.

The Bhuvaneśvara and Konārak wall and bracket figures are as rich in their variety of movement depiction as the Khajurāho figures, and the two stylistically complement each other in movement representation. Most of the wall figures of the Rājā-Rānī and the Liṅga-Rāja temple of Bhuvaneśvara are also seen on the walls of the Nāṭa-mandir of the Konārak temple: most of these can be easily identified as the *cārīs* of Bharata. Figures 22-29 are a few characteristic examples of these poses. Figure 22 depicts the *svastika* foot position we have seen in Bharhut, Amarāvati and the Gupta period: the *agratalasañcara* foot of the crossed leg at the back is seen much more clearly here. Figures 23 and 24 depict very restrained aspects of the *sūcī cārī* and indeed this as a posture is not too distant from the position seen in the Sāñcī dryad; however this is also one of the positions possible in the *alātā cārī*⁴⁹ where also the foot is taken to the back, but the back extension implied in the text is not seen in the sculptural representation: instead a flexion is observed. The *karkaṭa hasta* held at the head level with the *nata* and *unnata pārśva* makes the figure 24 very definitely into that of a dancer's. Figure 25 depicts a pose which is also possible within the description of *sūcī cārī*⁵⁰ where the *kuñcita* foot is lifted to the knee level and is then lowered to the ground; however none of the *karaṇas* which utilise the *sūcī cārī*⁵¹ depict this particular position in the Cidambaram sculptures. Figure 26 is a fine example of the *nūpurapādikā cārī* in the final position: the backward twist of the upper half is balanced against the push of the flexed knee and this gives the figure a beautiful sense of rhythm. Figures 27, 28 and 29 are poses which we do not often come across in the other schools of Indian sculpture and it is also doubtful if they were frequently used in the body of dance movement of those centuries. The position of figure 29, nevertheless, seems a common one, and the *svastika* of the thighs when they are in the *valana* position is clearly seen here. The *baddhā cārī* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* approximates this depiction closely: the crossing of the thighs we had noticed also in the pose of the ivory figure from Pompeii. The Bhuvaneśvara one is full of dance movement, the *alapadma hasta*, the well bent neck in a *tryaśra* all go to make this into one comprehensive dance movement. Figures 27 and 28 show a different type of a body manipulation, and these figures can be identified as the *syanditā* and *utsyanditā cārīs* of Bharata⁵² This can only be done from the point of view of the distance between the two feet and the placing of the feet and not the exact movement described by Bharata.

Figure 27 is an excellent example of the *nivṛtta kaṭi* movement and the *vivartita pārśva* movement where the *trika* is turned around. Figure 28 shows us a posterior view of the *syanditā cārī*⁵³ where the foot is placed five *tālas* apart. The

karaṇas which describe the sideways and back movements are the *dikasvastika* and *prṣṭhasvastika*, and these figures cannot be identified as these *karaṇas*.

The bracket and wall figures from the Cinna Keśava temple of Belūr and Hoysaleśvara temple of Hālebīd are another group of medieval figures which constantly evoke the dancing image. Figures 30-34 represent characteristic examples of movement depiction in the thirteenth century. Besides the pre-occupation with detail and ornament which strikes us about this style of sculpture, the close proximity of exact dance poses and these sculptures is also one which we have not encountered before. Unlike the Khajurāho and the Bhuvaneśvara figures, these bracket figures can be identified completely and without doubt with the *cārīs*, *sthānas* and even the *karaṇas* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The bracket figures seem to have been sculptured with deliberate design and knowledge of the dance poses of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

The *kṣipta* position of the knees which was confined to specific scenes of dance and music in Khajurāho and Bhuvaneśvara is transferred here to the bracket figures with the utmost ease; the hand and other positions of the body are also accurately sculptured. Figure 30 is an example of the *āyata sthāna*⁵⁴ prescribed by Bharata for women, where one foot is in *samapāda*, and other is placed in *ṭyaśra*: the hip (*kaṭi*) is shifted and raised in *udvāhita*, and the whole stance is one which is articulate with the movement of the dance. One hand is gracefully extended in *latā*, and the other is possibly a *kaṭakāmukha hasta*. Figure 32 is a variation of the same and in this figure also we find the slight *kṣipta* and *nata* bend of the knees. One hand is clearly in *kaṭakāmukha* and the other holding an interesting musical instrument is also perhaps in *kaṭakāmukha*. Figure 30 resembles closely the *vikṣiptā-kṣipta karaṇa* position described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.⁵⁵ Figure 31 depicts a *śuka-kriḍā* motif, and the posture assumed for doing so is in the *svastika* position of the foot, with one *agratalasañcara* foot behind a *samapāda* foot. The feet position can be identified as the *sthitāvartā cārī*⁵⁶ as also as the final position of the *nūpurapādikā cārī*. The hands and arms positions are similar to Figure 30. A good example of another moment in the *nūpurapādikā cārī* is seen in Figure 33. The hands are in perfect *uromaṇḍala hasta*. Figure 34 is an excellent example of the *ūrdhvajānu cārī* and we see how the Khajurāho figures depict this *cārī* with the one *samapāda* erect leg and how the sculptors of the Hālebīd model it as a finished dance movement by depicting as the *kṣipta* position of the knee of the *samapāda* foot: indeed the entire pose corresponds closely to the description of the *ūrdhvajānū karaṇa* of *Nāṭyaśāstra* IVth Chapter.⁵⁷ The *kaṭakāmukha* hands are also seen in the sculptural representation.

About the thirteenth century we find a prolific use of the *ūrdhvajānu* position both in India and in the South East Asian examples of *apsarās* etc. Figures 35-36 are bracket figures of the 13th century from Palampet, and represent the *ūrdhvajānu*

cārī clearly: since the knee of the *samapāda* foot is not bent in *kṣipta* we cannot identify these as full-fledged *karaṇa* but the figures approximate the *karaṇa* closely in the feet positions: the hands on the top are a variation of the *kaṭakāṃukha hasta* for the forefingers do not touch the thumb: these hands may easily perform either the *ūrdhvamāṇḍala*⁵⁸ movement of the hands, or if they changed to be *alapadma* hands and were held in that region they could also indicate the *lulita hasta*.⁵⁹ The *ūrdhvajānu cārī* in Figure 36 is slightly different. Here the knee of the flat *samapāda* foot is in a *kṣipta* position. The hands are in a variation of *uromāṇḍala*.

We have two very accurate examples of the *ūrdhvajānu* from Cambodia, Ankor Thom,⁶⁰ both of which depict the *ūrdhvajānu karaṇa*. In the first, there are three figures, all in the *ūrdhvajānu karaṇa*, the *kṣipta* position of the knee of the *samapāda* foot is seen in these examples. The middle figure has one *kuñcita* foot resting on the lotus and the other thrown up with the knees at the level of the waist and the sides. The hand positions however do not accord with the description of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. One of them is held near the head possibly in the *alapadma hasta* and the other is held on the waist in *patākā*: the *paksavañcita hasta* or *paksapradhyotaka*⁶¹ *nṛtta hasta* are suggested by the pose. The other is also an example of the *ūrdhvajānu* movement of a couple of *apsarās* from the Bayon, Ankor Thom, Cambodia.⁶² The right and left *jānu* of each figure is lifted and the left and right foot of each is in *samapāda* respectively: the two together make a very fine symmetrical composition: the hands of either figure resemble strongly the hand positions of the earlier examples and are suggestive of the *paksavañcita nṛtta hasta*. The uplifted *hasta* near the ear and head region seem to be held in *alapadma* and the others are held on the navel in a *hamṣāsya* or *sandamśa hasta*.

The Dilwārā temples are another rich source of the *śālabhaṅgikās* and the bracket figures: they crowd in dynamic movement on the walls and ceilings and brackets of the Vimal Viśāhi temple of Ādinātha, and the pillars of the upper hall of the Tejapāla temple in Mount Ābū: like the figures of the temples of Khajurāho and Bhuvaneśvara these figures also show a characteristic stylisation: there is a marked diversity in treatment of the human form and twisting round the axis of the Khajurāho *surasundarīs* and the Bhuvaneśvara figures seem to have given place to an intricacy of movement which arises for the main part from the uplifted leg position. A few *svastika* motifs are seen but the *ūrdhvajānu* position is still the most popular and we find several examples of this.⁶³ The *sūcī pāda*, with the *kuñcita* foot resting at the side of the other is another favourite mode of depiction here: the *baddhā cārī* position seen in the Bhuvaneśvara temples is also seen in these sculptures. One such example may be seen in figure 37 from Sirohi Mirpur: the crossing of the legs is balanced by an emphasized waist and neck bend. The two hands are near one ear, and may be in *ardhapatākā*. Fig. 38 is a *nartakī* from the Neminath temple, Mount Ābū. We observe here a very definite pose: the lifted knee is at the level of the waist, but is not in the *ūrdhvajānu cārī*, the *trika*

is turned around in *vivartita* and the movement corresponds here closely to the *karaṇas* of the *bhujāṅga* variety such as the *bhujāṅga*, *bhujāṅgāñcita* (*karaṇa* 40) and the *bhujāṅga* etc. (*karaṇa* 35) rather than the *ūrdhvajānu*. The raised foot is in *kuñcita* and is taken to the side of the other foot and the *trika* is turned around in the opposite direction. The hands are however not as prescribed for *bhujāṅgāñcita karaṇa* but these hands are common to a great many *śālabhañjikā* figures of the earlier periods. They can be identified as the last movement of the *uromaṇḍala* or the *pakṣavañcita hasta* for one is in the region of the head possibly in *mukula* or *catura* and the other holds a sword and is placed on the side. In the Vimal Visāhi temple of Ādinātha, we observe an accurate illustration of the *vidyudbhrāntā cārī* (Figure 39); the back flexing of one leg is clearly sculptured, and it is this movement which can result in the final position of the *vidyudbhrānta karaṇa* where the toes of the foot touch the head. One arm is seen in a flexed position, the exact *hasta* of the other hand is not clearly identifiable.

It is well-nigh impossible to deal with all the bracket and wall figures of the medieval period or even comprehensively with the figures of any one school, in the present study. The *cārī* positions are seen on the walls of the Visveśvara temples at Hāt Bajaurā.⁶⁴ Kulu, on the walls of Vaiṣṇava temple at Jangiri east of Bilāspur,⁶⁵ in the Nilakaṇṭheśvara temple of Udaipur,⁶⁶ in the *Harasiddhi* temple at Jhālāwār, Mālwār,⁶⁷ and in the Śiva temple of Rāmgarh⁶⁸ (Kotah), in the Someśvara temple of Jodhpur⁶⁹ and on the pillars of the Kirtstambha of Chittor.⁷⁰ The *ūrdhvajānu* position, the *sūcī pāda* and the *svastika* positions abound here, and occasionally we find that a *karaṇa* like the *nikkuṭṭa* is also depicted amongst these bracket figures. The same motif with the same poses is also seen in medieval South Indian temples and the dryad from Tādapatrī convinces one of the remarkable continuity of tradition from the 2nd century to 15th century: the *śālabhañjikās* of the Tanjore temples of Bṛhadeśvara and Dārāsura etc. also provide many examples of these *cārī* positions. Indeed as late as in the Hāthi Singh temple of Ahmedabad (19th century) we find the Indian sculptor capturing with great exactitude dance movement in the *śālabhañjikās* and the bracket figures. Throughout, we find that these figures are sometimes *yakṣīs* and dryads in beautiful postures, not necessarily those of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, at other times they are full-fledged dance figures whose poses can be identified as the *cārīs* and the *karaṇas* of Bharata. We see also that the *ūrdhvajānu cārī* position of the raised lower leg is a popular stance, in the later temples, as much as the *svastika* is a favourite one in the earlier examples from Sāñci and Mathurā. The *sūcī pāda* and the *vidyudbhrāntā* are the two other *cārīs* we come across, often from the earliest times to the example from the Neminātha temple. In the hand positions also there is a certain amount of consistent repetition of the *uromaṇḍala* and the *pakṣavañcita nṛtta hasta*. This rich sculptural tradition of eighteen centuries and more exhibits the gradual development of the motifs from simple naturalistic treatment heightened to a very high degree of stylization. From these sculptural representations we can deduce fairly certainly that

there must have existed also the same continuity of tradition in the movements of the different schools of dancing in the various parts of India. The nature and degree of stylization must have varied, but the essential principles of space treatment remained the same. Khajurāho and Bhuvaneśvara sculptures emphasize the movements of the waist and the sides, and most of the figures depict a standing posture without the pronounced *kṣipta* position of the knees; the South Indian figures treat the entire torso as one unit and emphasize the position of the legs: from the early medieval times the outward flexed position of the *kṣipta* knees becomes a characteristic feature of all dance sculpture. The dance styles which evolved in these parts also treated the human form in an identical manner: all the styles of Northern and Eastern India explored the intricacies of the waist movement and the movement of the side: we have only to watch a Manipuri performance carefully to be aware of the spiral and figure-of-eight (*nāgabandha*) patterns it composes in space through the complexity of the waist and neck movements. Similarly, the South Indian styles, specially Bharatanāṭyam, insists on the accurate use of the *kṣipta* position (which the practising dancer calls the *maṇḍalī* and the *ardhamāṇḍalī* posture) as much as the sculpture of the region, which hardly ever models a dance pose without this position of the feet and the knees: there is no twist around the axis in these sculptures so characteristic of the *surasundarīs* and dancing figures of the Koṇārak *naṭamandir*. The dance styles of South India also do not emphasise this spiral movement. The torso is considered as one unit in these dance-styles, and we find examples of the *bhugna* and the *nirbhugna* and *udvāhita* chest but seldom do we find examples of the *vivartita* of *pārśva*, and the *nivṛtta* movement of the *kaṭī* (hip).

The sculpture of the *śālabhañjikās* therefore helps us to discover some valuable and characteristic features of the dance, and what may have seemed an application of the dance-technique to a sphere outside it, really becomes a rich source of new light on the nature of movement in a particular dance style and the nature of stylisation of that dance style. Whenever the contemporary forms of Bharatanāṭyam and Manipuri and Orissi evolved, two things are clear: first, that they were broadly following the tradition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and were practising similar principles of technique from their inception, and, second, that the stylisation of movement began as far back as the 8th and 9th century; the evolution of this stylisation of movement resulted in the distinctive character of the regional schools of both sculpture and dancing. This continuous development was possible only when the tradition was alive and vibrant. The sculptors and dancers of each period seem to have been keenly aware of the possibility of variations in a given set of rules. As long as the rules were interpreted imaginatively and creatively, the creations continued to assume new significance. As soon as it was blind following of precepts, the result was dead convention. Behind it all, lay the unbreakable faith that through the known convention, a new form could be evolved. The challenge of the tradition, its strength and its dangers lay in the fact, that for the imaginative alive artist

it was a handy tool, for the mere craftsman, a series of known laws which could be passably executed. Thus, the same motif could be sculptured, danced powerfully and splendidly and it could also be executed competently but lifelessly. The *śālabhañjikā*, like other motifs of Indian sculpture provide excellent examples of this. So does Indian dance: at its best it is great, at its worst it is mathematically competent, and repetitive.

Flying Figures

Other motifs of Indian sculpture such as the flying *vidyādhara*, *gandharva*, *nuthana* (couples), dancing *kinara* and other miscellaneous niche and corner figures are almost as important from the point of view of the depiction of movement in sculpture and dancing as the *yakṣi* and the *śālabhañjikā*. It is true that most of them do not depict dance poses, and very many of them have not been modelled with the dance movement in view; often they are conditioned by the arches, the niches, the corners where they fulfil an architectural function also, nevertheless all of them are significant from the point of view of the dance in so far as they illustrate significant ways of movement depiction through postures of sitting, kneeling, extensions and flexions which in turn suggest flying and leaping.

The sculptural representation of the motif of the *gandharva* and *apsarā* in flying and sometimes kneeling positions is found in Indian art from the earliest times. Actually, by the time Bharata prescribed the rules of the kinetic art, a fair amount of stylisation must have already taken place to enable him to lay down the various movements and postures by which flying movement should be depicted.

Movements of flying could have been suggested in various ways and one of the most obvious ones would be to take a leap in the air by losing contact with the ground: in sculpture also, by providing figures with a pair of wings, flying could be easily indicated. But, this is not the characteristic way of Indian art. The movement is, instead, suggested through a stance which is not naturalistic but is symbolic and stylized. In short it is depicted through what the *Nāṭyaśāstra* terms as *nāṭyadharmī* technique. The poses prescribed for flying in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* follow the principle that only one leg must cover an area in space; at no time a maximum forking of the legs is allowed. The same principle is strictly followed in sculpture also. Wings (with the exception of some examples in Sāñcī and Bharhut) are dispensed with and instead poses (well thought out poses which also do not model the forked position) are utilised to denote the idea of flying. It is also significant that most of the figures occur on arches and niches in very limited space, and yet they convey a tremendous sense of release from the ground, and thus an impression of flying.

Bharata speaks of flying movements in several contexts: he prescribes movements by which walking in the sky⁷¹ can be represented and speaks at length on

the gaits of flying persons. In the discussion of the *sthānas*, specially of men, he tells us which of them can be used for depicting a large bird.⁷² In his discussion on the *karaṇas* he describes as many as ten *karaṇas* which can be profitably used to indicate flight in air. The *vrścika karaṇas* which have been spoken of earlier⁷³ are all used for depicting flying movements. In addition to the *nikuñcita* (*karana* 26), the *vrścika kuṭṭila* (*karana* 42), *latā vrścika* (*karana* 44), *vrścika recita* (*karana* 46), *vrścika* (*karana* 47), the *mayīnalalita* (*karana* 80) and *śmīhākarṣita* (*karana* 90), the three *karaṇas* derived from *sthānas*, namely the *vyāmsita* (*karana* 48), the *niveśa* (*karana* 96) and the *lolita* (*karana* 105), can also be used to show the flight of large birds. Three other *karaṇas* which can be included in this list are the *harma-pluta* and the *garudapluta*, the *gṛdhṛāvalīṅka* (*karana* 74).⁷⁴

The characteristic feature of this group of *karaṇas*, as might be surmised from the name *vrścika* (scorpion), is that one leg is flexed at the knee with the lower leg stretched or upturned. The degree of flexion at the knee, as well as its position in relation to the ground may vary. The leg which supports the weight of the body, on a *samapāda* foot, is also flexed either to the front or side and this flexion, whatever its degree, is never altered. The leg thrust back with the foot upturned gives a sense of movement. The level at which the knee is bent indicates also the degree and level of elevation. The flexed leg at the knee joint and the *samapāda* foot gives the figure a rare stability and the stretched and released leg suggests the dynamic movements of flight.

The sculptural representation of flying follows analogous principles. One knee is bent in front or often at the side; the outflexed position is such that either the knee or sometimes the entire calf and the foot also are in contact with the ground. One leg has either a bent knee at the level of the waist or has an outflexed knee touching the ground with the thighs and hips in line with the calf, the other leg is released and moves either in high-low or front-back or is seen at the side in either a partially or a fully extended position. When the front knee is bent, and only the *samapāda* foot touches the ground, the *sthānas* of the *ālīdha* and *pratvālīdha* are the easiest position to attain by the extension of the other leg. When one knee and the calf both touch the ground and the other leg is released at the side or back, then different types of flying movements can be suggested.

It is obvious from the above that leg extensions and knee flexions, infolding and outfoldings have been so analysed that a most suggestive use can be made of them.

The *vidvādhara* from Rānigumpha Udayagiri caves is the earliest example of the historical period. Figure 40 shows us a celestial figure carrying garlands or a tray of garlands, in a pose which can be easily identified as one of the poses mentioned above. One leg is bent in front and has a *samapāda* or possibly a *kuñcita*

foot touching the ground: the other is extended to the back like an arch, with a *kuñcita* foot off the ground. The weight of the body is on the foot of the bent knee in front, and the tray of flowers in one hand helps the forward thrust of the figure. The figure can be identified as being either in the *ālīḍha sthāna* or in a position which can be a significant moment in the execution of the *alātā cārī*, where a back extension is implied. The pose cannot be identified accurately as a *vṛścika karaṇa* although it is certainly indicative of the *karaṇas* of this group.⁷⁵

There is another example of a flying figure found in a portion of a frieze from the Ananta Cave, Khandagiri.⁷⁶ The figures on either side of the arch are flying forms perhaps coming to worship the hood of the Nāga: the torso of these figures leans completely forward in the direction of the front bent knee and the other leg extends backward; the foot is raised to a higher level than the knee so that it is vertically in line with the thigh and hip. These figures depict the *vṛścika karaṇa* more accurately: the uplifted foot and the bent knee is a characteristic feature of the *latā vṛścika karaṇa*.

We have other examples of flying figures from the Rāmgār hills and the *stūpas* of Bharhut and Sāñcī: the delineation of flying in Sāñcī and Bharhut⁷⁷ is not significant from our point of view as the portraiture is more naturalistic with wings etc. than stylized.

In the Kārli caves, there are two reliefs of couples sculptured in arches. Although these figures have been identified as early examples of Mithuna, their poses also fall into the category of *vṛścika karaṇa* from the point of view of movement. They seem as if the precursors of the characteristic knee bend and the slight back flexion which was to develop into the beautiful and dynamic motifs of the flying figures seen on the arches of the *stūpas* of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍā. In the Kārli figures everything is restrained: a slight bend of the front knee balances the back extension of the other leg. It is this back extension which leads to the flowing curves of the Amarāvati sculptures. Here their arms clasp suggesting a typical *pīṇḍi* and in one of the reliefs the female figure has a pair of *añjali husta* above her head.

In the Amarāvati and the Mathurā sculptures the portraiture of flying movement has developed remarkably and the mastery of movement with grace and elegance is one of the most significant achievements of these schools of sculpture.

Back leg extensions are seen in Mathurā, Nāgārjunikoṇḍā and Amarāvati. There are a variety of ways in which this is presented on the *torṇas* and arches of the slabs and pillars. There are some remarkable backleg extensions in the figures who carry the huge serpents: very many of them are faithful portrayals of the *vaiṣṇava sthāna* or the *ālīḍha sthāna*.⁷⁸ In most of the flying forms on the arches,

we find that the knee which is bent in front touches the ground, or gives the impression of touching the ground. Sometimes the knee also touches the ground in front, and the thigh either rests on the calf or is also on the ground in the same line as the calf: the other leg is extended to the back, sometimes in a complete extension on the same level as the bent knee, sometimes in a flexed position where the knee may touch the ground, but the calf is invariably raised with the result that the foot is lifted to the level of the shoulders or the chest. There is also a third position where one leg bends forward with the knee touching the ground, and the released leg hangs, as if the flying form was sitting on an imaginary seat (*āsana*).⁷⁹ The first position described above can be often identified as the positions of the *kuñcita karaṇa* (*karaṇa* 52) or the *vṛścika recita karaṇa*. Similar flying postures can be seen in the Jain stūpa of *Ayagapata* in Mathurā,⁸⁰ and Nāgārjunikoṇḍā. The back extension of the released leg is characteristic of these sculptures.⁸¹ The knee position of the bent leg and the arched movement of the released leg is often repeated in sculptures of subsequent periods. The Gupta flying figures share the elegance and grace of the river goddesses of Gaṅgā and Yamunā. Figure 41 from Deogarh is a typical Gupta variation of these poses; both the legs of the *gandharva* are flexed and one knee certainly touches the ground: the knee of the released leg also seemingly rests on the ground. Another variation may be seen in figure 48 from Sārṇath. Here a pair of wings have been added, in addition to the pose. There are other reliefs from the Gupta period which depict *gandharva* flying. In all these there is a forward thrust of the torso suggesting forward movement and extension of one leg or both legs suggesting release. An interesting illustration of the *karaṇa kuñcita* and the *vṛścika* leg extension is seen in figure 42 from Deogarh: Svarupnakhā takes this pose to suggest running away. One knee is firmly on the ground and the calf also rests on the ground. The knee of the other leg touches the ground also but the lower leg is lifted with the foot in line with the hip. Lakṣmaṇa holds a tuft of her hair firmly and the extended torso (*prasārita*) provides the tension suggesting her discomfiture. Rāma and Sitā look on. One other figure of a *vidyādhara* (figure 43) from Bundelkhand shows the same pose of the *vṛścika karaṇa* but this time the shift in the placing of the knee of the flexed leg in front and the marked forward thrust of the torso in a *udvāhita* movement, makes it a joyous figure of one naturally, moving in air. It is significant, that the same pose can be used by the dancer and the sculptor to convey different moods. Svarupnakhā is definitely in captivity trying to release herself: the *vidyādhara* is released—and in spite of the massive stone evokes a sense of freedom and joy. Figure 47 from Nālandā is a controlled well-balanced example of the *vṛścika kuṭṭila karaṇa*. The knee of the bent leg rests on the ground; the calf is also on the ground; the knee of the back extended leg also touches the ground; the calf of this leg is raised high so that the foot is at the shoulder level. The flying *apsarās* and *gandharvas* from Aihole (figure 44) are a distinct development from the Gupta figures. While the knee bends of the front leg remain the same the extensions of the other leg change. The lower leg is no longer

either in line with the knees, nor is the raised foot close to the hip. The calf is raised but extended. The triangular space provided by the *gandharva's* leg is dexterously used to seat the *apsarā*. Her bent knee in front touches his, and the extended leg re-inforces the dynamic movement of the *gandharva*. The *gandharva's* torso is not thrust forward as in the Gupta examples. It twists around in a half *vivartita* movement.

From the Kailāśa temple (Elurā) we have an example of a flying figure (figure 45) where the sculptor has utilised the back extension of the *vr̥ścika karaṇas* in a manner which makes the exact movement depicted as possible only in sculpture and not in dance: nevertheless, the principle followed for the back extension is the same which is followed in the *karaṇas* of the *vr̥ścika* variety in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Instead of the *ūrdhvalatā* arch of the leg which takes the foot of the extended leg to the high head region, the extension has been taken to a much lower level than the level of the flexed knee of the leg: the two hands are held near the forehead in *añjali*. The *siddhas* seen in flying postures in the Kirātārjunīyam relief in Māmallampuram⁸² also show the same type of leg extensions at the back but the foot of the released leg is not at a deep low level, it is almost at the same level as the knee of the flexed leg in front: the *siddhas* hold their right hands in *ardha-candra hasta*. It may be mentioned here that in spite of the difference in the two arts the manner of suggesting flying movements is similar. The Elurā figure, the *siddhas* of Māmallampuram when transposed to dancing are seen when Hanumāna is described in Bharatanāṭyam as the son of Pavana. The sudden release of a leg and the fall on the ground with a flexed knee and an extended leg at the back is performed on the same principles of the treatment of human form---to suggest flying as in sculpture.

The torso of most of the figures mentioned above remains erect, and seldom do we find a screwing of the waist or the side as in the Aihole reliefs. In the medieval flying figures, a significant development takes place; most of the flying figures from the 8th century onwards have a *nata* bend of the side (*pārśva*) and this goes on being attenuated so much so that by the time we come to Khajurāho and Koṇārak the waist has turned around completely, resulting in the depiction of the *nivṛtta* and the *vivartita* movement rather than the simple *nata* and the *prasārita* movements of the waist of the earlier figures. The beginnings of this we notice in the flying *vidyādhara* from the Virupakṣa temple of Paṭṭadakal, South West Deccan (figure 46). The knee positions, the extended leg at the back are similar to the postures of the *siddhas* in the Māmallampuram relief, but the torso is shifted far out in the *prasārita* movement of the sides and the slight *chinna* position of the waist. The hand positions also resemble the *uromaṇḍala nṛtta hasta* position; one hand is held in *patākā* near the head and the other rests on the thigh. The *chinna* waist and the twist of the torso is seen even more clearly in the figure of the sporting *yakṣa* with bird from the Rājiva Locana temple, Rajim, Madhya Pradesh (figure 49). The legs

are also modelled on the basis of the *vr̥ścika kuṭṭila karaṇa* and the whole gives an impression of intricate convolutions.

In the temples of the Khajurāho, these dancing and singing *kinnaras*, *vidyā-dharas*, *gandharvas* and *yakṣas* attain the most complex poses, where a variety of rhythmic lines of angles and curves together leave an overpowering impression of the most difficult turns and contortions of the human form. Closely analysed, we find that even though these poses tax our credulity, they are all in the realm of human possibility and are not physically improbable poses. There is hardly a recess or a niche where they do not find a place and the amazing variety of these figures and poses, along with the consciously conceived plan which is followed in their depiction, is a fascinating aspect of the Khajurāho sculptures. They occur in the *garbhagrha* in the bottom lintels, as *kinnara* dancing in the internal ambulatory passage, on the walls of the *ardhamandapa*, and on the walls outside of the Kandariyā Mahādeva and the Lakṣmaṇa temples; they are seen also as details on the back of the colossal *Varahā*, and occur as fully modelled figures in the round clinging but most delicately to the walls of the Dulādeo temple. A fascinating panel of musicians and dancers is seen in these poses on the *varahā*: the Kandariyā Mahādeva has innumerable examples of musicians and dancers, *yakṣas* and *vidyā-dharas* in the *vr̥ścika* leg positions. They can be identified as the *vr̥ścika latā* and the *vr̥ścika kuṭṭila* movements. The musicians with horns and pipes on the *varahā* are fascinating for the many possibilities they present. If the panel is looked at vertically then they seem to present only contortionist poses; they are sculptured with consummate skill, but are not dance poses. If the same panel is viewed horizontally then we find that the sculptor has utilised his medium by modelling the figure on a different plane, but the pose he is depicting is already familiar to us as one of the variations of the *lalāṭa tilaka*. One knee is bent outwards, with a side facing; the other leg is thrown back with the knee touching the ground, but the calf is so raised that the foot practically touches the head. The *vr̥ścika* leg is employed splendidly and the forward thrust of the movement is also seen clearly. There are other panels in which the poses suggest the movements of *bhujangatrāsita* variety. None of these examples however depict the flying movement so perfectly as the singing and dancing *gandharvas* of the Dulādeo temple in Khajurāho. Figures 50-55 are bracket figures of this temple and their mastery of modelling is unparalleled. There is a turning around the *trika* in most of these figures with the characteristic position of the lower limbs. Figure 51 is like the figures of the seventh or eighth centuries, but the accentuated bent leg already anticipates the twist of the waist: figures 52, 53, 54 and 55 display the skill of the craftsman both as a sculptor and as one who understood perfectly the laws of human movement. The lower half of these figures is in one or other of the *vr̥ścika karaṇas*. In figures 52, 53, 55 one leg is bent forward and the toes of an *agratalasañcara* foot touch the ground and the knee is raised: the other leg is flexed at the back with the knee of the flexed leg touching the ground and the calf is raised with an upturned foot which is at the hip

level. The turning of the waist and reeling around the axis of the torso is seen perfectly in the upper body, and what the *yakṣa* of figure 49 had anticipated finds its culmination in these figures. The *vivartita* side (*pārśva*) movement is captured at its best in figure 54 which depicts a complete dance movement. A less dynamic example of the same is seen in figure 53. There is a *recita* of the *kaṭi*, a distinct head inclination and the flute is held in a pair of *ardhapatākā* and a *muṣṭi hasta*. In figure 54 two *hamsāsya* hands with palms facing out, suggestive of the *vivartita* and *parivartita hasta karaṇa* are seen. The neck is bent to the side in *tryaśra* in each of these and the head is slightly bent in a slight *adhogata* movement: the sculptor has proceeded a step further from depicting the basic movement of the *vṛścika karaṇas* and has proceeded to explore the full possibilities of depicting kinetic movement in stone, by trying to create sculpture in the round rather than being limited by the two dimensional quality of sculptural relief.

Flying figures continue to find a place in Indian sculpture; the temples of Orissā, Rājasthāna, South India all provide us with significant examples; nevertheless, rarely have they excelled the sculptures of the flying *vidyādhara*s and *gandharvas* of Khajurāho. In these sculptures it seems as if the absolute limit of movement had been explored: what followed could only be unnecessary ornamentation or a close second. From the point of view of dance they serve as the ideals of the perfect pose which can be held for half a second in a powerful movement. One can have a glimpse of these poses for a split second in the perfect execution of movements like *tāt ti tam* in Bharatanāṭyam, and in the *nṛtta* portions of the Orissi.

Dance Scenes

Although the figure from Mohenjo-dāro is the first example of significant movement patterns there are no major examples of dance scenes in Indian sculpture until we come to the Rānigumphā and Udayagiri⁸³ caves in Orissā. These are, perhaps the earliest consciously sculptured scenes of dance and music. They are perhaps court scenes; if they are identified as scenes connected with King Udayana, a view held by some scholars, they are the first examples of theatre where full orchestration along with dancers and actors is seen. A frieze (figure 56) on the lower verandah of the Queen's palace contains a group of musicians and a dancer. There are four musicians on the left side of the verandah each one of them with a musical instrument; the extreme figure plays on the flute, the next figure plays on a stringed harp, and the next two are drummers. The drummer on the far side seems to have just finished a moment of climax in playing, as her hands are raised in joy, with the *mṛdaṅga* still between her knees; the other drummer is in the background and she seems to be watching the performance rather than playing; perhaps it was customary that of the two drummers, who accompany the dancer, only one played at a time. The dancer herself is in a very vivacious pose, fully confident of her powers and capacities. She stands erect with a clear frontal position: the face is in three-fourths

profile. Her right knee is bent in *nata* and her right foot touches the ground in a *kuñcita* foot, the other leg is slightly extended to the side, but has no knee bend and has a full *samapāda* foot on the ground. The waist and the chest are erect and raised: her hands and arms follow the lines of the legs below: and her right arm is bent at the elbow, held in line with the shoulder and the forearm is bent inwards with a *patākā hasta*. The weight of the body is on her right-bent leg. The character of the pose, though not in keeping with any pose of classical Indian dancing today, already suggests later developments: the combination of the two hands might easily have become the *kari-hasta* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (IX, 199), where the *tripatākā hasta* is held near the ear, and the other arm in *latā* moves from side to side: but the hands in the present pose are not *tripatākā*, and *kari-hastas*: the extended arm moves in line with the shoulder level, whereas according to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and contemporary practice it should be slightly obliquely curved or flexed, with the forearm on a lower level than the upper arm. The feet too might be identified as the feet of the *adhyardhikā cārī* where the left foot follows the right, and is at a distance of one *tāla* from the first. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* verse (X. 17) however does not specifically mention that the right foot should be in *kuñcita*. The whole figure thus anticipates a stylisation and is the first example of movement which has evolved a specific style. There are many other friezes in these caves which speak of the great fluidity of movement which the artist was able to capture. Extended arms, and legs are characteristic: indeed in many ways these friezes are freer and more eloquent than those at Bharhut and Sāncī. They seem as if the true precursors of the Amarāvati friezes full of dynamic movement of the human body.

Bharhut

The Buddhist *stūpas* of Bharhut depict a nation which was keenly alive to the arts of music and dancing. Within the limitations of bas relief these sculptures express considerable suppleness of the human form: the '*bhaṅga*' of the body may not be as stylised as those seen in the Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures, yet the Bharhut sculptor surely knew the extensions of the upper limbs. The legs, as pointed out earlier in the context of the *yakṣis* are for the most part stiff, but the upper limbs are rendered with great vigour and surety: a humour that penetrates throughout these reliefs is evident in the dance scenes also. We have here dancing and music scenes in many contexts, and they may be briefly listed:

- (a) A wife trying to please her husband with a dance.⁸¹
- (b) A *kinnara* couple dancing in a playful mood.⁸⁵
- (c) Nymphs and courtesans dancing to the accompaniment of instrumental music⁸⁶ (figures 57, 58).
- (d) A *nāga* maiden dancing on the lifted head of a Nāgarāja.⁸⁷
- (e) A Nāgarāja, accompanied by two mermaids in human form, maintaining rhythm.⁸⁸

- (f) One more example of the dance pose might be seen in the relief of Goddess Śrī, who stands as if in a dance pose.⁸⁹

Of these the first is indistinct and uncertain, and not of much value: the *kinvara* pair dancing, and the Nāgarāja with two mermaids on either side, maintain rather unstylised hand and feet positions, the *Nāga* maiden on top of a *Nāga*-hood has indistinct feet movement, but the upper part of the body is straight erect with arm movements which do not seem to move away from the body and yet a sense of movement is conveyed. The group of courtesans or nymphs dancing is the most important of all these, for here we find examples of dancing which has a distinct character. The Goddess Śrī on the pedestal is significant for its waist bend which is usually absent in the other sculptures. For the first time we find that the waist has been attenuated in this manner: she bends to the left, with a *nata* movement of the side, and her arms extend on either side, in a graceful manner touching the tendrils of the lotus on which she stands. There is a quality of suppleness about this figure, which makes it surprisingly fluid for the period.

From our point of view, it is the scenes of group C, which are of the greatest interest. The first of these is found on the lowermost panel of the outer face of Prasenajit Pillar. It depicts the dance of the *apsarā* in heaven and from the inscription we learn that the names of those dancers are Subhadrā, Sudaśanā, Miśrakāśī and Alambuṣā. The scene probably depicts one of the dances performed before the Devas in Indra's Palace.⁹⁰

The scene (figure 58) contains four female figures and a child dancing in different attitudes: in the middle and to the left are eight other female figures all seated, one handling a pair of cymbals, and two playing the seven stringed harp, while the others have no instruments and seem to be singing. One of them may be playing the drum, but only the posterior view is seen.

The four who are dancing are all in different attitudes in the same dance: the sculptor utilises the different postures to form a harmonious group of the two on the top and the two on the bottom. The top left and the bottom two have a similar hand and arm movement. The left hand of the top left figure of the *apsarā* is in *patākā hasta* held near the ear, like the one seen in the Rānigumphā figure: the elbow is held outward in the line with the slightly raised shoulder. This position of the *patākā*, with the palm facing outwards seems to be a common feature of Indian dancing from the earliest times: this hand moves away gradually from the ear, in years to come, and the elbow extends out till finally we have the perfect curve achieved in the Nāṭarāja *abhaya hasta* arm. In all the earlier sculptures the hand is invariably placed near the ear with the fingers pointing upwards, near the chin or just below the chin. The other hand of this figure is extended down

on its own side, the extended arm is not relaxed and seems much more tense than the extended arm of the Rānigumphā figure: the extended arm has moved downwards and is approximating the *dola hasta* of *latā hasta* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The lower two figures show the same hand and arm positions: it is the *patākā hasta* near the ear, but the extended arm has moved upwards instead of down: the thumbs of the *patākā hasta* are also clearly placed on the palm and not extended: such a flexing of the thumb is seen today in certain portions of Manipuri, with the important difference that they are always relaxed in Manipuri, and do not necessarily touch the palm. In Bharatanāṭyam, the thumb is bent at the knuckle and placed taut near the palm. The top right figure has both her hands near the face with a flexed position of the arms. Had these hands been in *kaṭakāmukha* and not *patākā* then we could have easily identified them as the *caturśra hasta* ⁹¹ The leg positions of only the lower figures are visible and we find that even though the feet are obliquely placed in *samapāda* they cannot be identified as *tryaśra*, for the placing is in a completely out-turned 180° angle, as in the first position of classical western ballet. The little child alone shows a slight *kṣipta* bending of one knee and he seems also to have one foot in the *kuñcita* rather than the *samapāda*. The torso is held erect in *sama* by the extreme right figure, but all the others show a marked bending to the right or left. In the bottom right figure, the waist seems to be in *chinna*, but in the bottom left figure a clear *prasārita* side (*pārśva*) movement can be seen. Although these poses cannot be identified as the *karaṇas* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, we find that the arm extensions are those which set the tone of the stylisation of classical dancing, for even in contemporary Bharatanāṭyam we find a similar treatment of the torso and the arms. The other dancing scene (figure 57) is seen on the west gate corner jamb of the Ajātaśatru Pillar. The upper bas relief depicts the Vaijayaṇta Palace and Sudharmā Hall of the gods of the thirty-three, with the scene of the Cūḍāmaha. The lowest panel depicts four women dancing to an orchestra in which seven people take part. The poses of most of the figures are similar to those seen in the earlier relief and we find a more exaggerated version of the *patākā hasta* near the ear: the flexed arm has the elbow pointing upwards now and the *patākā* hand is on the ear rather than near the ear. The second arm of three dancers is stretched down in a stiff *latā hasta*: the extreme right figure has her feet in *svastika*, with a *kuñcita* foot crossing the *samapāda* one at the back: the attitude of the fourth figure is significant, for apart from holding two *patākā* hands near the ears she bends her knees in an outward sideways position, and these are the first beginnings of the *kṣipta* position of the knees which was to become a basic stance of classical dance styles of India in years to come.

The Bharhut sculptures, in spite of their limitations and handicaps of modelling in relief seem to have captured some of the spirit of the contemporary dance as it must have been practised then. It is clear that the *latā hasta* and the *patākā hasta* with the thumbs touching the palm were popular. The waist bends were also known to the age, and even though dancing was for the most part in the standing

position, there were signs of stylisation, specially of the knee bends as seen in the second scene (figure 57).

A scene from Mathurā (figure 59) depicting musicians and dancers rejoicing at Nema's feet belongs very much to the Bharhut variety, even though in point of time it comes later. We see a group of four dancers with three seated musicians; of these one is clearly playing the seven stringed harp. Three dancers are reminiscent of the hand positions of the reliefs from Bharhut (figure 58). However, there is a significant difference between the hand and arm position of this relief and those from Bharhut. The palm does face the audience, but the thumb is neither taut nor on the palm. The elbow is no longer in line with the shoulder: it is at the waist level in three figures. Their feet positions cannot be seen in the sculpture; only one woman stands in *samapāda* feet in a movement of the dance; the hand positions anticipate the *pakṣavañcita hasta* mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*: one hand is held near the head, and the other is hung down near the side: this arm position is one which we commonly find in the medieval sculpture of India, but is not found frequently in contemporary dance practice. Her right hip is raised to the side in a *udvāhita* movement.

Sāñcī

The relics of Sāñcī bring forth a faithful picture of the life of the people of the times: it is obvious from these sculptures that the people represented here were alive to the joys of the world and conscious of a divinity that ruled their lives. Music and dance naturally plays an important part both as a form of enjoyment and as a form of devotion.

Dancing is associated here with both the gods and the humans. Some of the scenes depict dances which cannot be identified as classical dances; there are others which belong fairly certainly to the sphere of classical dancing. There are many dance scenes in the *stūpa* which depict social dancing of various kinds: one of these, is seen on the West pillar of the Northern Gateway (figure 62). Even though these figures stand worshipping the *stūpa* with folded hands, which can be identified as the *añjali hasta*, there is nothing in the scene which can make this scene an example of classical Indian dancing. The musicians and dancers do seem to take some steps, but neither their stance nor their apparel has anything in common with the dance scenes seen earlier. The scene is important for the musical instruments they hold, and these include double pipes, two carved trumpets, a harp, little drums, tambourines and drums; one of these beats the drums with sticks, again an uncommon feature of Indian drumming at the classical levels; the shape of the drum is unlike those we usually find in Indian sculpture. The *nagārā* and the *ceṇḍā* (in Kathākali) are notable exceptions which are played by sticks in India; the drum of Sāñcī cannot be identified with any of these.⁹²

There are other scenes in *Sāñcī* which are important more for the musical instruments that they represent than for the dance poses. One such scene is identified by Fergusson as depicting a story from the *Lalitavistara*, where prince Siddhārtha displays his martial skill by shooting an arrow to produce a water fountain: in the foreground of this scene (Fergusson, Pl. XXXVI), there are warriors who hold drums, pipes: these musical instruments are obviously Indian compared to the scene just described. There is another scene, where we notice a music dance performance in a demon-court. A burlesque orchestra of tambourines, harps, sistrom accompany the dancer: the contours of the dancer are no less grotesque than the musicians and the dance is obviously not classical.⁹³ However, even in this grotesque example, the *rakṣas* or the *asura* holds one hand in *patākā* near the face and the other is extended upwards: it is obviously a mimicking of the refined dancing of the *devas*.

There are perhaps only two scenes in *Sāñcī* which can be identified with any certainty as depicting classical dancing. One is found on the Northern Pillar of Western Gateway (figure 61). It shows the Nāgarāja Mucilinda with his queens. The nāgarāja sits with his wives to his right and behind three attendants hold a dish, jar and a fly whisk: on his left is a troupe including a dancer and five female musicians. They hold two tambourines (*mṛdaṅga* and *ḍholak*), a harp, a flute, and one more instrument which is indistinct. The *mṛdaṅga* is placed between the knees by one, and is stood up by the other musician. The couple of drummers are similar to those we noticed in the Rānigumphā caves. The flute is played with two *muṣṭi hasta* facing each other. Only the stretched arm of the dancer is visible, and judging from this high extended *latā* arm it may be assumed that the other hand was in *patākā* held near the face, if not the ear: the movement reminds one of the movements of the Bharhut *apsarās*.

Another scene is seen on the West Pillar of the Southern Gateway, upper panel on East face (figure 60). Whatever the scene depicts, and about which there is much controversy,⁹⁴ it is clear that the sculptor has most ingeniously contrived to seat some thirty-three gods on the left in order to let us see the orchestra of heavenly nymphs and the twist of the lovely dancer with the heavy plaits. There seem to be three musicians who accompany the dancer: of the dancer herself we see only a three-fourths view of her figure up to the thighs. Her arms are brought forward, to meet in a curve: the *hasta* is not clear but obviously she seems to be showing a clasping of the fingers, which may be in *pāśa* or in *karkaṭa saṁyuta hasta*. We come across this hand position for the first time in sculpture: it is not frequently repeated: we notice also a twist of the waist, but the dance pose cannot be classified as a *cārī* or a *karāṇa*.

There are some other scenes in *Sāñcī* which depict dancing of a similar type but the two scenes mentioned above (figures 60 & 61) are by far the most important.

One other scene is similar to the scene of the nāgarāja court, and the same outstretched arm position can be observed;⁹⁵ another depicts the happy family of Hariti with his children and attendants, four musicians and a dancer.⁹⁶

Amarāvati

It is not till we come to Amarāvati that we find a profuse knowledgeable and precise depiction of the dance movement in sculpture. The agile men and women of Amarāvati with their elongated limbs sing and dance on every occasion; dancing is associated also with the religious and social life of the people, and we find that dancing plays as important a part in the scenes of the worship of the Buddha, as in the courts and palaces of the Nāga kings.

In these dance scenes we discover also for the first time a suggestion of the *karāṇa* and *cārī* or examples of a finished movement as codified by Bharata. There is both a spontaneity and a stylisation in these sculptures. The stances which these sculptures portray suggest a distinct form of movement in keeping with the sculptural style of the period. The *kṣipta* knee position is not yet witnessed, but the other characteristic modes of depicting leg movements are clearly seen in these sculptures. The crossing of the leg according to the fundamental principles of the *bhujāṅgotrāsītā cārī*, and the *karī hasta* are popular. The kneeling position of a great many worshippers can be identified as the *kuñcita karāṇa* of Bharata (*karāṇa* 52). These dances, scenes and poses sometimes offer only a beautiful scenic representation of the dance, which is difficult to interpret fully in the technical terms of the dance, at others it can be analysed in terms of either a *karāṇa* or *cārī* of Bharata.

A well-known dance scene is seen on a medallion which narrates the story of the Muga Pakkha Jātaka. The prince Siddhārtha is seen in one of his previous incarnations being entertained by music and dance; he however remains unmoved by it. Detached in mind he is seen serenely seated on a couch to the left of his stern father. In the lower half of the medallion there is an elaborate music and dance scene (figure 63). The ensemble consists of eighteen women out of which fourteen are playing one instrument or the other.⁹⁷ One stands backing us, while beating time with her hands, and the two are indistinct, and amidst all these stands the prima donna, who seems to sing as she dances. The orchestra consists of conch-trumpets, a small drum, akin to the modern "duggi" of Northern India, cymbals, drums like the *mṛdaṅga* and harps and one of them plays perhaps an instrument like 'nāgasvaram' of South India. Such an elaborate orchestra is the first of its kind, and its rich array of instruments is impressive. The scene represented must have had both 'abhinaya' and 'nṛtta' in it, to demand all these instruments as accompaniments: in the later scenes of stylized dancing, we find that the orchestra consists mainly of a drum, cymbals and a flute: the harp like the *vīṇā* seems to have gradually gone into disuse.

The main figure who is apparently gesticulating to a song, stands with one foot placed on the stool in front, and the other extended backwards: the accent however is not on the back leg, the foot of which is hidden, but on the leg placed on the stool or drum in front. From the position of the raised and bent leg on the stool we may identify this as the initial position of the *atīkrāntā cārī* where one leg is raised in front in *kuñcita* foot and is then placed gently on the ground. This initial movement of the *cārī* is captured here, where the foot is lifted in front and is then placed on the ground.⁹⁸ The harp that she holds does not allow for further movement of the limbs; however, the harp is held rather gracefully.

Another court scene (figure 64) has a single dancer amidst a similar, though not quite as elaborate an orchestra. Also the music instruments here are different, instead of the harps, there is a *vīṇā*-like instrument, commonly found in later sculpture, and the flute plays an important part. The lady who holds the flute stands with dignity and plays it with great flourish; the drummer too is sitting in a rather elegant pose of the outturned legs with the knee on the ground; a drum counterpoised between the legs. The figures to the left are obviously very pleased with the performance as they are raising their hands in applause.⁹⁹ The dancer herself seems highly sophisticated with a costume which is cut and sewn: she wears a scarf and an elaborate hair dress. Her pose is one which we shall find repeated in the Gupta sculpture at Gwalior. She crosses her legs at the hip level, thus giving one the impression of standing sideways, in the direction of the musicians, but her upper body is straight facing the audience. She stands with one arm bent, in line with the shoulder, with elbow pointing sideways to the right; this hand in *patākā* or *tripatākā* and is held near the shoulder, and not against the cheek or the ear, as was found in Bharhut; her left arm is extended downwards, obliquely in a relaxed but controlled movement of the *latā hasta*. Her torso is also divided into two units: the unit from the shoulders to the waist and the hip region, is turned and accentuated; the upper torso or the side (*pārśva*) is raised and pushed to one side without the shoulder line being disturbed: thus the three horizontal *sūtras* have been used to great advantage, to show a complexity of movement, which must have been quite difficult to render in sculpture. The lower waist we may identify as the *chinna* (*Nāṭyaśāstra* IX—245b) and the *pārśva* (side) movement can also be *prasārita*, but the two together cannot accurately describe the movement depicted. Here then we find the first complex pose, which utilises various *angas* and *upāṅgas* of dancing. The legs cross at the hip level and one foot is in *añcita*: already the pose anticipates the *bhujāṅgatrāsītā cārī*. However the position possible is in either the *ākṣiptā cārī* or the *spanditā cārī* position where thighs cross, and the right foot is crossed to a distance of five spans.

We have other examples of *cārīs* in the other medallions from Amarāvati. The upper half of a medallion represents the *triśūla* ornament.¹⁰⁰ In the centre of bas-relief sits the *nāgarāja* prince with a nine-headed snake hood between his two

wives on either side; almost on the edge of the circle is a female figure on either side each standing and holding on to the branches of a tree. This is a domestic scene in which few significant poses are seen: the attitude of the two women on either side are seen in the Sāñci dryads, and the *aśvakrānta sthāna* may have been used to attain this posture: as represented in the relief, the pose is nearer the initial position of the *vidyudbhrāntā cārī*, or the intermediary position of the *alātā cārī*.

In a similar scene on another medallion kneeling postures of women are significant: an orchestra of a harp (*parivādinī*) and flute is seen here, and a number of domestic activities seem to be going on to the tune of the flute: the lowermost extreme right figure seems to be in a dance pose, in the gesture of carrying a pitcher; and she holds the pitcher in a movement of the *kuñcita karaṇa*.

In the scenes relating to relics of the Buddha or the Boddhisattva we have an example of social dancing unaccompanied by music, on a medallion where as many as twenty-two male dancers and twenty-two women take part: the dance, devotional in aim, is vigorous in character (figure 65). They dance behind in front, and all around the central figure, (who carries the begging bowl) of either the Boddhisattva, or the Buddha himself.¹⁰¹ They are all obviously in a great frenzy and seem to have quite lost themselves in the dance: in the lowermost area of the medallion there are seven men of whom five are in an identical pose, three on the left side and two on the right; the two figures in the middle completely backing the viewer are in different postures and have their hands in *añjali hasta*. The two side figures, at the bottom the last but one from either side (i.e. 2nd and 6th from the left), are seen in a more sophisticated movement than the others, and remind one of the various postures of flying and the *vr̥ścika karaṇa* (*karaṇa* 52), which Abhinavagupta's commentary prescribes for people who are overflowing with joy during the worship of their favourite deity: the pose indicates a moving forward on the bent right knee; the left leg is flexed at the back, the knee touches the ground and the calf is raised: the sculptural representation depicts through the plastic medium the pose accurately. The hands of these two particular figures are not in folded *añjali hasta*, but the others make up for it by folding *añjali hastas* on top, in front, and sometimes even sideways. All the others are variations of this, and we have an important example of a devotional community dance, in this medallion. It is clear from this example that dance was closely related to both religious and secular life. We may not find the finished products of the pure classical dance in this representation, but the character of this dance is preserved in contemporary dance forms, in the Svegi dancers of the Punjab or in the Himācal Pradesh dancers of the Kāngarā valley: this characteristic knee bend, and walking in perfect synchronisation, placing one in folded knee after the other, crossing, and hardly rising from that position, is a feature which is seen in the folk dances of this region, to this day. Also it is significant that even though there are an equal

number of men and women, they do not dance in couples, instead they dance in two distinct groups: this is again a feature which is often seen in Indian folk-dancing. Another incomplete version of the same is seen on the inner face of a pillar of the outer enclosure: the medallion is broken, but it seems to represent an almost identical dance.¹³¹

Dancing figures are invariably seen in the various scenes depicting the dream of Queen Maya, and the descent of the Buddha: of these the best example is found on a pendant to a bas-relief.¹⁰² In the central division (figure 66), Buddha symbolised by the white Elephant descends from the Heaven Tūsita borne by celestial dwarfs, and surrounded by devas. An umbrella of state is borne before him, and music and dancing accompany him. The orchestra here consists of a flute, and a lute, cymbals and the like, similar to what we saw in another court scene (figure 64): the male dancer holds an interesting pose, with his right leg crossing the left leg at the thigh level, and hardly touching the ground; he extends his right hand out crossing the chest in the *latā hasta*, and the other arm is raised with the hand just above the ear in a *sarpaśiraṣa*, with the back of the palm touching the head. The arm-positions are a fairly good illustration of the *Nāṭyaśāstra karī-hasta*¹⁰³ (IX 199). Such an elevation of the hands, and this crossing seems to be a favourite mode with the dancers of the period.

The leg position of course makes it quite different from the *karana lalita* or *bhujāṅgaatrāsita recita* where the *karī hasta* is used: in the latter it is a *kuñcita* foot and it does not cross. The feet and legs of this figure conform much more to the *ākṣiptā cārī* or the *spanditā cārī* as in figure 64. However, the twist of the waist with the *karī hasta* makes this figure more in keeping with the *bhujāṅgaatrāsita cārī* where the text definitely mentions a turning around of the hips. The position in the sculpture could have been the *bhujāṅgāñcita karaṇa* (*karaṇa* 40) had the leg been raised. The figure on the extreme left top is possibly in this position, judging from the clear crossing of the legs: the latter figure has the right hand in *patākā* near his ear, and the other arm is extended out on the side above the shoulder level; his neck is bent to his left side in *kuñcita*. Both these figures can be identified as variations of the *bhujāṅgāñcita karaṇa*. The extreme right figure on top is in *ūrdhvajānu cārī*, with one *latā hasta*.

But more important than all these scenes of music and dancing in Amarāvati is the scene sculptured in one of the discs on the intermediate rails of the outer enclosure¹⁰⁴ (figure 67). The scene depicts a king, either Siddhārtha or his father, seated with two principal wives, surrounded by ladies of court; some sitting some standing in pairs, but all collected to watch a performance, which Fergusson terms as a 'wild performance of six men'.¹⁰⁵ The postures of all these six dancers are significant. The figure on the top right is a class by herself: she assumes a *vaiśākha sthāna* or a *maṇḍala sthāna* with the thighs outturned and the

feet placed at some distance: she is actually one of the drummers who places two *mṛdaṅgas* vertically and counterpoises a third horizontally on them: she must also be like the contemporary 'khol' players of Manipuri, and some of the *mṛdaṅga* players of Kathākali who dance while they play on the drum—a skill which became very popular in the medieval period; it is also depicted in the sculptures of Bhuvaneśvara and Khajurāho. Her left hand is not on the waist, but is poised on the side of the drum: the *latā hasta* swings across the body to do so: this is a virtuosity in playing which is displayed by the drummers of India in practically every part of the country, even today: it is not infrequently that we find the *pakhāvāja* players and *tablā* players touching the left skin of the instrument with their right hand or vice versa as sheer flourish. The lady in this case lifts up her right hand to the head making on the whole quite a dance pose by herself. The two figures below are in the *latā vṛścika* (*karaṇa* 44), quite obviously with one of their legs arched backwards in *kuñcita ūrdhva latā*, and one arm is also raised in *latā* which seems more like a *recita* movement of the hands: the other foot is on the ground with a bent knee: a *patākā hasta* is also near the shoulder: the accent of movement and weight of body is on the foot of the bent knee. The figures depict thus the *latā vṛścika karaṇa* with accuracy. Two upper symmetrical figures are accurate sculptural representations of the *bhujāṅgāñcita karaṇa* (*karaṇa* 40), with the difference that the one arm is not in *latā* but is flexed with the *patākā hasta* held near the shoulder. In the representation thus the hand gesture is more in keeping with the hand gesture of its allied *karaṇa bhujāṅgaśrīṣṭa* (*karaṇa* 24) rather than the *latā* and the *recita hasta* of the *bhujāṅgāñcītakaraṇa*. The waist is bent in *chinna* and there is a slight neck bend in *tryaśra*. The whole pose reminds one of the figures of the dancing Nāṭarāja: but important differences must be pointed out, before we identify this as a complete *nāṭarāja* pose: the uplifting of the leg is no doubt akin to the movement seen in the *nāṭarāja* pose but the foot of this uplifted leg is not in *agratalasañcara* as it should be with the big toe slightly separated from the others and pointing downwards and stretched: this stretching gives the *nāṭarāja* figures a tension beginning from the toe travelling to the top of the foot and ending in the knee: the angle thus formed is different from these reliefs where the uplifted foot might have been *kuñcita*, but here it looks more like an *añcita* due to the flexing of the ankle, as heel points to the ground. The hands and arms are of course different, as only one arm has the *abhaya patākā hasta*; the other is in *recita* rather than the *karī* or *varada hasta* of the *nāṭarāja*. The crossing of the legs at the hips however is very much the same; and it must be pointed out that the pose anticipates and suggests the *nāṭarāja* pose truly, even if it does not depict it fully.

The profuse prolificness of dance is evident even from the few examples analyzed. There can be no doubt that music and dance played an important role in the life of the people. Some idea can also be formed of the dance-styles that must have been prevalent.

As pointed out earlier, the outward bend of the knees (*kṣipta*) had still not become a regular feature; nonetheless the sculptor has captured successfully a distinct style which is characterized by its free use of the upper and lower limbs, bends of the waist and the crossing of the thighs. No posterior views of dancers, or turning around the *trika* are witnessed but frontal positions and profiles are common. This dancing is also as social and devotional in character as it is classical and urbane: in the social type, the men and women dance in separate groups; in the classical (in the court scenes) there is an orchestra consisting of chiefly the flute, the lute (which is seen here for the first time) and various kinds of drums. In the classical, women perform solo dances, and sometimes they perform also duets, trios and quartets. It must also be remembered that this is also the time when Bharata's terminology is frequently used in literature and from these sculptures it is evident that significant developments have taken place since Bharhut and Sāñcī. These sculptures seem to be following on the whole a definite style and the frequent repetition of these poses also follow a definite plan. In these reliefs also, the beginnings of a stylisation of movement can be discerned: the poses anticipate the stylised poses of the Gupta and medieval period. The fundamental principles of movement and definite rules of *nṛtta* have evolved, and it is these which become more polished and chiselled in later centuries

Nāgārjunikonḍā

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Nāgārjunikonḍā and its Buddhist railings seem but another flowering of the Amarāvati *stūpa*. We have here the same exuberance and abundance as in Amarāvati: the torsos and limbs of the men and women move as freely as the supple slender forms of Amarāvati. These figures seem to assume dancing postures, graceful *bhaṅgas* even when they are not dancing. The west face of a Railing Pillar with Relieves shows us a woman holding a child.¹⁰⁶ she steps forward in the *adhyardhikā cāṇī*, with her left foot at the back of the right, and placed two *tālas* apart. The waist is slightly bent, with the sides in *nata*, and the arm is raised to the face suggesting bashfulness. The *valana* position of the thigh is seen in another figure of the same relief, where the lady seems to be walking sideways: both the knees are bent to the same side, almost in the initial movement of the *pārśva jānu karaṇa*.

In another scene we have a *nāgarāja* seated on couch: the ladies and the others are seated on the ground before him, in a vivid expression of amazement, because they seem to be watching the preaching Buddha standing in a rocky country with deer, lions, trees: the *Nāgarāja*'s attitude is significant, he raises both his hands high up in *recita* of the hands, and sits erect in a stylised manner.¹⁰⁷

In a scene depicting divine musicians and worshippers floating in the air,¹⁰⁸ we have a royal personage evidently opening his mouth to sing, and he plays an

instrument at the same time. The middle figure has a lute like the one seen in Amarāvati; the extreme figure stands in a dancing pose. There is a deep waist bend in *chinna* and the hands are *pakṣavañcita nṛtta hasta* with one hand raised to the head and the other on the waist: this is a common mode of standing and performing dances in Amarāvati too. On the topmost level, to the left, there is a figure who seems to be standing in the *atīkrāntā cārī* with one *kuñcita* foot thrown up in front which is about to be dropped on the ground. A similar scene is seen in figure 68, where the extreme left figure has one hand in *recita*, the other on the waist, and the kneeling figure has her hands in *pakṣavañcita*, and the knee position of the *kuñcita karaṇa*. The scenes of the Nativity of the Buddha, where Māyā stands in the Lumbini garden, in a *svastika* pose of the feet and the *pakṣavañcita* pose of the hands,¹⁰⁹ are also frequently seen in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍā sculptures.

In a scene depicting the temptation of Buddha by Māra we have a couple on the extreme left, in an attitude of real wild dancing. One lady stretches out her hands on top, takes a big stride to one side in *samapāda* feet and with a defined *udvāhita* chest. There seems to be a complete lack of restraint in these figures, and their dancing seems hardly of the classical type.

In a beam, on the middle panel is the scene representing the Buddha seated with more than fourteen figures scattered all over. There is a couple on either side, who, with their upraised heels and standing on the tip of the toes, seem to be in a wild frenzy of devotion and dancing. This is perhaps one of the most accurate illustrations of the *agratalasañcara* foot.¹¹⁰

Another couple is seen in the scene delineating the Prince Siddhārtha leaving the world:¹¹¹ here the woman raises her hands on the top of her head in *añjali hasta*. Another figure on the right assumes the feet of the *bhujāṅgāñcita* with the *karihasta* gesture.

Gāndhāra

In tracing the history of movement in Indian sculpture, the Gāndhāra school is not as significant as the sculptures of Amarāvati on the one hand and the Gupta period on the other. Nonetheless we find that here too dance scenes are not infrequent: the poses and the attitudes they execute may not be striking, but from minor details it is clear that the basic '*hasta*' and the feet positions of the classical dance are not unknown to them, and there is a discernible Indianness in the movement.

A bas-relief in the Lahore Museum depicts episodes from the life of Buddha. In a scene we find two dancers with a number of musicians entertaining Prince

Siddhārtha and Yaśodharā. The musicians play on drums and harp, and the dancer interlocks her hands in *karkaṭa hasta*,¹¹² the other pose is indistinct.

Another beautiful relief depicts a music and dance scene (figure 69) performed before a Nāgarāja.¹¹³ The dancers in this scene raise their hands over their head in *uromaṇḍala* and assume *svastika* positions of the legs: both stand in perfect symmetry on either side of the Nāgarāja. A harp and flute and a tabor constitute the orchestra. The whole scene is full of vivacity, and the Nāgarāja seems to be listening intently to the strains of the music. The dancers are ornately dressed in flowing robes and the harps and lutes have little in common with the instruments we saw in the reliefs of Amarāvati.

In another frieze, from the Jamāl Garhāl Yusfāzai now in British Museum—we see seven dancers and musicians taking part: the first two of these dancers, but what this dance must have been it is not possible to say: few of these examples however can be identified with certainty in terms of Bharata's *karaṇa* or *cārī*.

A beautiful and well executed dance scene of the Gāndhāra period is seen in figure 70. A flutist and a harpist accompany two dancers. Although the drapery and garments conceal some of the precision of their movements, the *svastika* feet of both the dancers are clear. One stands in a *prṣṭhasvastika* and the other in a frontal *svastika* position. The hands of the figure in *prṣṭhasvastika* are in *pakṣavañcita* and the other dancer may have held one *kaṭakāmukha hasta* near the chest. The other hand may have been in *latā*, extended or flexed. The movements of the two figures balance beautifully, and this seems to be a rare early example of couple dancing. It is also the first example of the *prṣṭhasvastika* movement. Although the legs are erect and not in a *kṣipta* position, the waist bends, the curve of the arm of one dancer and the *latā hasta* of the other dancer, give it a distinctly Indian character.

Gupta Art

But these scenes are tributaries to the main river of the experience of life and art of India. The strong current of the earliest centuries of the Christian era passes through the torrents and uproars of exuberance and abundance in the Kuṣāṇa, and Amarāvati periods; it settles down into the calm flow of a mighty river in the Gupta period with immeasurable depth below and an undisturbed quiet flow on the surface. The upsurging of human emotion, which knew the unbounded freedom of the spirit and the joy of life leads to a discipline, which is not discipline superimposed but is one which has arisen from within. In a word, the whole of Gupta Art extending through the length and breadth of India is a testimony to this discipline and order, where art is no longer merely self-expression, but is self-effacement and self-annihilation, a *sādhana*, of the mind and the body.

This quality was not unknown to the earlier sculptors and artists, but now it manifests itself in a definite form and is an accepted principle of art to be followed with all the devotion and sanctity that the artist could bring to it.

In technique, we find the counterpart of this maturity of the spirit in the perfect balance and controlled poise of the sculpture of the period. The dance scenes are, without doubt, classical in character and are finished artistic products of a style which has come to stay. The dance scenes of the period are not those in which we have to look for unidentified, unformulated patterns of movements; dance now moves only in certain patterns, in certain categories: it is not the abundance and vivacity of Amarāvati where the awareness of space around the physical form was the chief impetus of the dance: here, movement, and dance movement in particular, seems to have been categorised; it has been divided into the *sukumāra* and *lāsya* on the one hand, and the heroic, vigorous *tāṇḍava* on the other. We find examples of both the types of dancing in the sculptures of this period. This is true specially of the later Vākāṭaka period, especially in Ajantā and Elurā, where we find the various *tāṇḍava* poses of Śiva.

Court scenes still abound, and the dancer stands amidst musicians and drummers. The scene from Gwalior State, on a lintel from Pavaya (figure 71), depicts a dancing scene, which is significant both for its polish as also for its close associations with the dancing figures of Amarāvati. We see here a complete concert in progress:¹¹⁴ seven women form the orchestra, the harpist and the lutist (*vīṇā*) sit in line with the dancer: a flutist and a small drum¹¹⁵ player are immediately behind: in the background are three others, of whom one plays two vertical drums, reminding one of the Amarāvati drummer as also of the contemporary *tablā*, the most prominent of them all, is the cymbal player who seems to sit commanding the whole orchestra like a *nattavunāra*. The chief person watching the performance holds a lotus in her hand. The formation of the orchestra itself is interesting: the stringed instruments are placed in front, the wind instruments next, and finally the chief rhythm and percussion instruments: if one observes carefully, there is little difference between the method of sitting here and the order of sitting of the musicians in a Bharatanāṭyam performance. The harp like *vīṇā* gradually disappears from the scene, and the drums take different shapes in different regions, but the rhythm of the drum and the cymbals seem a constant accompaniment of all dances.¹¹⁶ The pose of the dancer herself reminds us of the Amarāvati dancer: her right leg crosses the left at the thigh level, and the left is placed at the back in a *kuñcita* foot: the right leg is slightly extended out, and both the knees are bent: her right arm is flexed with the elbow pointing out, a *patākā*, or perhaps a *kaṭakāmukha hasta* is near the chest, the other hand hangs in *lātā* or *dola*, on the left side; the hand position is that of the *āyata sthāna* but her feet do not suggest this pose: the feet position accords more with the *svastika* group of *cārīs*, and can be identified as either the static position of the *Naṭyaśāstra sthitāvartā cārī* (X 15)

or the *ākṣiptā cārī* (X 37). The waist is bent slightly with a *nata pārśva* to the right, and the neck is bent in *kuñcita*. No specific *karaṇa* can be identified, but it is clear that the dancer moves to definite rhythm and music.

The scene from the Deogarh temple is of a different nature (figure 72). Here we have a group of five: musicians to the right of the dancer beat time with small sticks¹¹⁷ and the third to her left does the same; the extreme left figure plays on a drum placed horizontally across her waist. All of them wear sewn clothes, the two on either side wear *dhotis* in the same manner as men wear today, and the other two wear transparent thin skirts that cling to their body and come down to the ankles. The dancer herself has a rich costume; a skirt that comes up to her knees and falls down in flames. another sewn garment covers her legs to the ankles: she has an elaborate head dress and earrings, different from the other figure. Her pose is simple; she stands in *āyata sthāna* for the most part, with one foot *samapāda* on the ground, and the other placed slightly obliquely in *tryaśra*, the knee of the *tryaśra* foot is bent, and the hip of the flat foot is elevated: her waist is slightly bent; the left hand does not hang down, but is placed on her left thigh gracefully. but all her fingers are spread out.¹¹⁸ The right hand is placed between her breasts and is also opened out in *alapadma*: her head is just slightly turned, suggestive of a *kuñcita* neck movement. The pose of the dancer has great dignity and elegance; her dress and demeanour remind us of the figures of the Ajantā and the Bāgh Caves.

We have another example from Deogarh (figure 73): here too there are five figures, four musicians and a dancer: one of the musicians is definitely playing a drum like the *mṛdanga* (extreme right), and two of the musicians seem to be playing on cymbals. the hands of a fourth are indistinct. The dancer herself shows a distinct *kṣipta* outward bend of the knee, and the feet may easily have been in *samapāda* and *kuñcita*: one of the arms is also definitely across the body in the *latā hasta* suggestive of the *karī hasta* position. The other hand gesture is not clear, but it was obviously held near the waist. This is one of the earliest scenes where we can observe a distinct *kṣipta* position of the knees.

Sārnāth brings us other important examples of dancing scenes and dance figures of the same school.¹¹⁹ The finest of these is found on the long door-way lintel of 16 feet.¹²⁰ The panel is divided into six fields: of these, two represent dance scenes, identified as the five dancers of King Kālābū in the Khantivādi-jātaka: also in each one of lower niches we notice a group of three musicians

The two dancing scenes on the upper panel are reminiscent of the scenes in Deogarh temple. In the third field there are five figures, of whom four play on musical instruments—a drum, a flute, a pair of cymbals, and a vertical *mṛdaṅga*. The central figure who is the chief dancer stands in an *āyata sthāna*. Her left arm

is in *latā* hung down relaxed away from the body, and her right hand is in *patākā* held near her left shoulder; the fingers point slightly obliquely: but for the changes in the position of the hands, the pose is similar to the Deogarh dancer; so is her dress.

The next panel (figure 74) shows the same dancer; perhaps, now, not as if at the beginning of a dance, but in a moment of dance: she rounds her arms, holds her left hand in *kaṭakāmukha* very taut near the waist, and makes a *recita* with her right arm, which is lifted to the shoulder level. The left hip is pushed out and the foot of this leg is placed in front with a slant of the leg: her right leg crosses the left at the knee level, makes a *svastika* and touches the ground in a *kuñcita* foot: the initial position of the *āviddhā cārī* is suggested and the pose belongs again to the *svastikā cārī* group, but the difference between the leg positions of this dancer and the Amarāvati figures is significant. The crossing is at the back of the leg with the *samapāda* foot rather than in front. The flutist in the foreground to the left sits in a rather stylised posture—with both the knees bent to one side.

Of the women playing musical instruments in the lower niches of the same panel, two of them have significant postures: we come across a sophisticated sitting position with both knees bent outwards and pointing sideways. The *hasta* are very definitely *karī hasta*, one hand is in *latā* and the other is held over the ear in *patākā* presumably. The dwarfs in these niches also dance and sing, and are reminiscent of the *vidūsaka* scenes found at Rājghāṭa depicting a court amusement scene.¹²¹

With the Cave temples of Elurā, Elephanta, Ajantā begins a new era in the history of Indian sculpture, which has its roots in the Gupta art of the earlier century and is yet breaking fresh ground. Amongst the dance scenes in these temples the most important feature to be noticed is the emergence of the full-fledged image of the dancing Śiva. Although earlier examples of these images exist, both Elurā and Elephanta give a distinct formulation which is followed for many centuries. Elurā devotes many scenes to the depiction of the various aspects of this deity. These we shall discuss as *nṛttamūrtis*.

To this period also belongs the rock-cut temple of Aurangabad¹²² (figure 75) which contains the figure of a Tārā. From its style and character it is strongly reminiscent of the sculptures of the Gupta period. She stands amidst six musicians, three on either side, holding cymbals and flute, and the small sticks seen in dance scenes from Deogarh.

However, her posture has become more stylised than the dance poses of the early Gupta period. The *kṣipta* outward bend of the knee is seen here; it is so

effortlessly sculptured that it no longer seems as an innovation; it appears instead as an accepted feature of a dance style. Indeed, the sole criterion for many scholars of identifying many poses as classical dance poses has been the presence or absence of this position of the knees. The feet of this figure are in *samapāda* and *kuñcita*, a slight *nata* bend of the sides (*parśva*) is also characteristic of most of the dance poses of this period: her left arm is arched and the hand of this arm rests on the thigh in an *ardha-patākā hasta*, palm facing upwards (*uttāna*), and the other is perhaps a *patākā hasta* placed near the waist. The *karaṇa* suggested is the *valita* (*karaṇa* 31), where one hand is on the thigh and the other is in *apaviddhā sūcī*. This is one of the first examples of a dance pose which can be identified as a complete faithful representation of one of Bharata's *karaṇas*. However, the *sūcī mukha hastas* mentioned by the commentary are not seen in the sculpture.

Orchestration is also complete with flute, lute, *mṛdaṅga*, cymbals and sticks. Another example of a dance scene is seen in Ajantā (figure 76). Like the dancers in Amarāvati, Deogarh and Gwalior, this dancer also stands surrounded by an elaborate orchestra of six musicians. The instruments played by three of these are the cymbals, the two vertical drums and a small *kañjirā*. The others perhaps keep time by clapping. The dancer has a *svastika* position of the feet like the dancer from Sārnāth with a crossing at the back; one foot is in *samapāda* and the other is in *kuñcita*. One hand is in *kaṭakāmukha* and the other hand is in *latā* near the hips. The hip is shifted to one side in a slightly raised *udvāhita* movement and the neck is in a perfect equipoised *sama*. The *kṣipta* position of one knee is significant and although the dancer seems to indicate a static pose, it is nevertheless a pose of the dance very definitely.

The various dance poses of Śiva in Elurā, Aihole, Paṭṭadakal, etc., belong to the group of *nṛttamūrtis* and should be analysed in that context. Indeed, in Ajantā and Elurā the motif of the dance is seen at its best in these conscious efforts at depicting the different modes of dancing of many gods specially Śiva.¹²³ Early medieval sculpture of South India and the Deccan abounds in these *nṛttamūrtis*, although scenes of dancing continue to be numerous.

However from the 11th to the 15th century, a most prolific representation of the dance is seen in temples of Khajurāho, Bhuvaneśvara, Mount Ābu and South India. The schools of sculpture differ, change and develop from century to century, and the dancers also exhibit strong characteristics of their locale; regional variants are evolved, but the fundamental treatment of movement remains the same. As has been pointed out earlier, once the tradition of the *kṣipta* knees, *karihastas* and *latā* arms is accepted, there is seldom a departure from it. The tradition must have been so widespread that these poses are often repeated over a large geographical area. The sculptures do not depict, quite naturally, the whole range of movement described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*; the artists' pick and

choose and select only those poses of dancing which would be most appropriate for depiction in the plastic medium. We find, therefore, that the *karaṇas* like the *valita*, *lalita*, *ūrdhvajānu* and the *sūcīvidha* are popular; gradually they become stereotypes throughout the vast canvas of Indian sculpture. We also find that the elaborate orchestra of the earlier period gives way to drummers and the *kāṇṣya tāla* (cymbals) players and the *kañjirā* players of the 11th century. The *vīṇā* (lute) and the seven stringed harp is seldom seen, and the flute is the only musical instrument used in the context of the dance. Most of these poses depict the *nṛtta* aspect and not the *abhinaya* aspect of the dance.

Khajurāho

The temples of the Candelās are as rich for dance scenes, as they are for the variety of the wall figures of the *śālabhañjikās* and the *sūrasundarīs*. Figures 77-82 give us an idea of the sculptor's preoccupation with dance. Dance panels are found on the outer walls for the most part in both the Hindu and Jain group of temples: sometimes, isolated dance figures are also seen. Dancers are invariably seen with the *kṣipta* position of the knees figures 77, 78, 79 belong to one group, and figure 80 to another: figure 81 presents a different version of the classical dance. Figure 80 shows a male figure dancing amidst drummers and warriors, who carry both weapons and musical instruments like the horn etc. associated much more with martial music than classical dancing. Figure 82 falls into an independent group and this figure must have depicted an eight arm Śiva in a dancing pose. The poses of the dancers in all the figures are similar except that of figure 82 and all of them show a *samapāda* foot and a *kuñcita* or *agratalasañcara* foot placed against the heel of the *samapāda* foot: the position is akin to the *sūcī pāda* position and all these figures depict it with slight variations. Figures 77, 78 and 79 show a clear *kṣipta* position, with a definite *agratalasañcara* foot rather than a *kuñcita* foot. The arm movements of 77 and 78 are all different and the torso movements also vary. One hand is near the thigh or *kṣipta* knee, in an *ardhapatākā* or *haṁsāsya hasta* in figure 77, the other extends out in a *latā hasta*, and is raised above the level of the shoulder. She is accompanied by two drummers, one playing the *mṛdaṅga* and the other a *ḍamaru*. This pose is seen in the Cidambaram temples as the *ardhamattali karaṇa* (*karaṇa* 28). In figure 78, one hand is in *haṁsāsya* near the chest and the other is held at the hip. There is no bend of the torso here and she stands erect accompanied by two drummers (*mṛdaṅga*), one flutist and one other figure who may have played cymbals. The hands resemble the gestures of the *karana mattali*, but neither this figure nor the Cidambaram figure represents the movement of this *karana* described by the text. The movement of the hands can be identified as an intermediary position of the *uromaṇḍala hasta*. Figures 78 and 79 show the same feet position; in both one hand hangs in *patākā* near the thigh, the other is held near the shoulder but with the palm facing the dancer. The waist of the dancer in figure 79 is in a *pra-*

sārita movement. She is also accompanied by two drummers and a flute player. In figure 81, the hands of the dancer resemble the hands and arm movement of the dancer in figure 77. However, the hand near the *kṣipta* knee is clearly in a *patākā* and not *hanīsāsyā*. Also the extended and raised *latā* arm is in a curve. Unlike the dancer in figure 77, it is a right foot which is in *kuñcita*. This gives the figure a different stance than that of the dancer in figure 77. A cymbal player is clearly seen in this panel. Figure 80 shows a male dancer in a pose similar to the one of the dancer in figure 78. The knee position of the leg with the *samapāda* is not a defined *kṣipta* position and the other foot is in *kuñcita* rather than *agra-talasañcara*. His right arm is flexed with the elbow at the chest level and the hand is held near the shoulder in a *patākā hasta*. The other arm hangs down in *latā* with the hand touching the knee. He is accompanied by two drummers, a *mṛdaṅga* player and a *damaru* player and a large cymbal player (*kāṁsya-tāla*). The flute is conspicuously absent and there is perhaps a horn carried by the lady who has one foot in *svastika*. Others carry weapons suggesting a martial or heroic dance.

The most significant pose amongst these sculptures is of figure 82 which could, with justification, be treated amongst the *nṛttamūrtis*. The figure in spite of its being broken clearly suggests Śiva dancing in *tāṇḍava* in a beautiful *vivar-tita* movement of the waist, extended *dola hasta* and *prsthastika* movement of the legs. One leg is in a clear *kṣipta* with a *samapāda* foot, the other was possibly raised in a *pārśvakrāntā cārī*.

It is obvious that the Khajurāho sculptures of dance are a logical culmination of the beginnings seen in Sāñci and Bharhut and Amarāvati. The *dola* or *latā hasta* of the Bharhut dancers, the Amarāvati dancers and the Ajantā and Aurangābād caves continues. The stiffness of the arms of Bharhut figures gives way to the smooth elongation of the limbs in the Amarāvati sculptures and which in turn gives place to the perfect proportions and balance of the Aurangābād Tārā. In Khajurāho a stylisation of movement has been achieved which is as much a culmination of the sculptural style as of the dance technique. The distance of the limbs from the body is perfectly conceived and could be executed by a dancer without any difficulty. The elaborate orchestra of the Gupta period gives place to a smaller accompaniment of the drums, the flute and the cymbals: the harp is almost never seen and although the *vīṇā* (lute) is seen often in the single figures of the *śālabhañjikās*, it is seldom seen in the context of the dance scene. A specialisation of dance music is already obvious from this, and we find that the rhythmical accompaniment of the *mṛdaṅga* and the cymbals is invariably portrayed in sculpture until the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. It is this percussion accompaniment which forms the core of musical accompaniment in the *nṛtta* technique of the contemporary classical dance styles of India.

Bhuvaneśvara

Two scenes from Bhuvaneśvara (figures 83 and 84) depict men dancers, obviously in a group dance, exclusively for men: they perform in groups of three, and the orchestra is seen separately in a different panel. A flutist, a drummer (*mṛdaṅga* player) and a *tāla* keeper (rhythmic clapping) are seen in the lower niche of both the panels: the dancers themselves hold interesting poses: they do have the *kṣipta* of the knees; but the poses are not as formalised as in Khajurāho: instead thighs of practically all the figures are slightly thrown out to the side, and this results in an exaggerated mannerism characteristic of this school of sculpture and dance. In figure 83, the extreme right dancer is in a *prṣṭhasvastika* pose described by Bharata.¹²⁴ His feet are in *svastika* and the back is turned towards the audience: the second figure has a *samapāda* and a slight *kuñcita* foot, the latter is drawn away slightly: one hand is held in a half *muṣṭi hasta* near the head, the other hand hangs in *dola hasta*: the arm movements depict the final position of the *uromaṇḍala hasta*. No specific *karāṇa* of Bharata can be identified in the pose, but it can be one of the many intermediary positions of a *karāṇa* like the *kaṭi sama* (*karāṇa* 19) or *chinna* (*karāṇa* 45). The extreme left figure has a *svastika* of the feet and the same type of the hands as the second figure. The second dance scene (figure 84) seems to have more movement, with greater flow and coherence in the composition. The extreme right figure of the panel has a *svastika* of the feet, a *uromaṇḍala* arm movement, where the elbow points out, without the exaggerated *prasūrita* waist of the central figure of the earlier dance scene. The second and third figures hold *sūcīpāda* and *karihasta* positions: their poses are however not such as can be called accurate depictions of the initial positions of either the *catura* or the *karihasta karāṇa*.

These dance figures when compared with the existing Orissi style capture a type of movement distinctive to Orissa. The *kaṭi* as a unit is usually kept in *sama* in Bharatanāṭyam and there is no movement of the hips. In Orissi the hips are moved, and the *tribhaṅga* is usually formed with the *kṣipta* position of the legs and the hips deflected or shifted to one side: it is this characteristic deviation which is also depicted in these sculptures. The hips and the head deviate to one side and the torso deviates to the opposite side. The *karihasta* is also more frequently seen in Orissi than the other contemporary styles of classical Indian dancing.

There are many remarkable examples of the *nṛttamūrtis* in Bhuvaneśvara and one example will be dealt under the group of *nṛttamūrtis*. Apart from these, two other interesting examples of sculpture of the dance are seen in figures 85 and 86. Figure 85 is of a dancer half reclining on the ground, with the torso raised and the elbow touching the ground. The other arm extends backwards. One leg is raised up with the foot nearly touching her head. This is perhaps the

extreme example of the *vr̥ścika* leg position. If both the legs had been raised and extended up with the torso touching the ground, the pose would have approximated the sculptural representation of the *karāṇa śakaṭāsya* in Cidambaram. The present figure cannot be identified as the *karāṇa lalāṭatilaka* on account of the suggestion of reclining, although one foot is raised almost to touch the head. The other figure (86) is of an acrobatic movement and a rare example in sculpture of this pose. Although the movement is physically possible and is performed by acrobats, it is seldom seen in the body of classical dances. The movement of the legs again belongs to the *vr̥ścika* group and while the knee and foot of one leg touch the ground, the other is raised high, this time well above the level of the head. The weight of the body rests firmly on a *patākā hasta* on the ground and the knee of the static leg. The other arm is raised high above the head: the uplifted leg and arm balance each other remarkably and the head is bent backwards in a marked *añcita* neck movement¹²⁵ and an *utkṣipta* head movement. If the weight of the body had been on both the hands resting on the ground, the present figure would have approximated the sculptural representation of the *karāṇa gaṅgāvatarāṇa* (*karāṇa* 108) in Cidambaram. As it is, it does not. Finally there is one dance scene from the Mukteśvara temple from Bhuvaneśvara (figure 87) which is unique for its grace and precision. The exaggerations of figures 83, 84 have given place to a perfect movement of the classical solo dance. The *ardhamanḍalī*, the *kṣipta* of the knees is perfect. The raised leg with the *kuñcita* foot is as full of dynamic movement as it is controlled. There is no extra movement of the *kaṭi*: the *prasārīta* waist is clear but not laboured: the arms are in a clear distinct beautiful *karī hasta*. The slight *nata* bend of the neck completes the picture of this joyous solo dancer. The musicians look on in enjoyment and adoration playing the *vīṇā*, cymbals and other instruments.

Dilwārā

Many scenes from a ceiling of the Dilwārā temple, Mount Ābu, present a variety of poses. The women who dance here are sometimes more sophisticated than the men dancers of Bhuvaneśvara. The elongated limbs, the attenuated waists and the rounded torsos leave an impression of great plastic skill. The dancers are accompanied here too by *mṛdaṅga* and flute players. The flute is unusually long and the *mṛdaṅga* usually is a small sized one. Occasionally one comes across a dwarf playing on the *ḍamaru*. Coomaraswami in 'Mirror of Gesture' gives three excellent illustrations of dancers from these temples. *Ūrdhvajānu* is popular and the knee here is taken almost to the level of the chest. There are also examples of the *pārśvajānu* and the *svastikā cārī*. The *pakṣavañcita hasta*, the *kaṭakāmukha hasta* and the *hamsāsya* are common. The women who hold musical instruments also use *hasta* such as the *siṃhamukha* and the *ardhapatākā*.

Two scenes from the same group of temples show dancers and deities in

the characteristic *ūrdhvajānu*, *pārśvajānu*, and *svastikā cārī* movements. Figure 88 represents a central male deity accompanied on either side by two female deities each. Apart from the many attributes that these deities hold in two pairs of hands, the third pair of hands is in *uromaṇḍala hasta*. One hand is in a clear *patākā hasta* in *abhayamudrā*. The position of the lower limbs is either in *svastikā cārī* or in *ūrdhvajānu cārī*.

The dancers in figure 89 surround a female deity and the line of dancers present a great sense of movement. The two dancers closest to the deity have a *svastikā cārī* position of the legs with a very clear extension of the torso. We do not often come across this torso position in Indian dance. Usually the torso twists round the waist or there is a simple bend. This slant is rare; the other dancers on the left of the seated figure have a *kṣipta* position of the legs; but this can hardly be identified as a clear *kṣipta* position of the knees because the upper leg does not move out from the centre of the body; instead it is turned inwards suggesting *āvartita* or *pārśva* movement. The other lower leg is lifted and the toe is held by a dwarf in each case. The waist is either turned round in *recita* or it is almost *vivartita*. In all these figures, the *samapāda* foot is clear; in two figures, the *kuñcita* foot is also clear. The *kuñcita* foot in other figures is closer to the *agratalasañcara* foot. The dancers who cross their legs usually hold a position which can be identified as the *sthitāvartā cārī*.

As in other medieval temples, dance scenes and dance poses are frequent in all the temples of the Mount Ābu group. These dancers appear on ceilings in circular formations, on horizontal lintels and on vertical pillars. Although there is some variety in the dance poses, it is not really enough because from the evidence available it would appear that the sculptor was restricting himself to the depiction of three or four movements of the *sthitāvartā cārī*, the *pārśvajānu cārī* and the *ūrdhvajānu cārī*.

Rājasthan

A frieze from Jodhpur (figure 90) shows a panel of dancers in different poses. The *kañjirā* is the only musical accompaniment and no drums are seen here. The *sūcīpāda* feet position is noticed in most of the figures; two have a *svastika* of the feet and one seems to be in the movement of the *apakrāntā cārī* (second from left). The third and fourth figures from the right hold the same poses as those observed in Khajurāho : the central figure is seen clearly in the movement of the *prśhasvas-tika karaṇa*, but one arm is raised with the elbow pointing high up, resulting in a *prasārīta* movement of the sides (*pārśva*) and an *udvāhita* movement of the chest. Her head is turned back in the *parāvṛtta* movement. This is a highly stylised and polished depiction of the *karaṇa* and we see a similar representation of it in the frescoes of the Bṛhadeśvara temple, Tanjore.

A scene from the *Purānā Mahādeva* temple from Rājasthan (figure 91) repeats these poses. The musical accompaniment is more elaborate here, for we see besides the flute, drum, cymbals, a *vīṇā* or an *ektārā*, and two other instruments. Two musicians have the 'svastika' position of the feet, one foot is in *agratalasañcara*. The *kañjirā* player is in *prsthastika*. The pose of the main dancer in the middle is akin to the pose of the dancers in Khajurāho and her arms are in *uromandala hasta*. In another dance scene from Suravāyā we find the main dancer in a similar pose. The scene (figure 92) shows five dancers interspersed between musicians, who play on drums (*mṛdaṅga*), flute and *kañjirā*.

There is another scene of the dance of the gods in Indra's heaven from the Harsanātha, Sikar, belonging to the same period (10th century).¹²⁶ In the frieze, we find Indra seated on his elephant Airāvata, a warrior holding shield and sword and an Apsarā. The movement sways and surges to either side of a standing god who holds a long lance and who seems to have ushered in before Indra the warrior, so that he becomes one of the dancers. The *apsarā* stands in a delicate mild *ūrdhvajānu* pose where she does not lift her knee too high: two *hamsāsya* hands are seen clearly, one is near the shoulder and the other near the waist: the palms of both are facing out.

In a relief from a temple at Harsanātha in Rājasthan (figure 93) now in William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Śiva is seen seated with Pārvatī on the bull Nandi, surrounded by dancers and musicians. All the musicians and dancers have a clearly defined *ksipta* position of the knees and except for the figure immediately to the right of Śiva their feet are in *sūcīpāda*. One musician plays the *kañjirā*, another a *mṛdaṅga*, and a third a horn, very much like the present *turahi*. The figure immediately next to Śiva dances in a *ūrdhvajānu cārī*, one hand in a clear *hamsāsya hasta* is placed near the hip. The other is held at the level of the head, making it a variation of the *uromandala hasta*.

The sculpture of dance can be seen practically in every temple of Rājasthan of the early and late medieval periods. The poses these figures assume are varied and like the sculptors of Khajurāho and Bhuvaneśvara attempt to capture a dynamic movement of the dance. The Sirohi Mirpur dancers of figure 94 depict yet another pose of the dance. Three of these dancers assume the *vrścika* leg position with a *vivartita* waist movement. The foot which touches the ground is not in *samapāda* but a *kuñcita* foot, and there is no forward thrust of the flying *gandharvas* of Khajurāho. Instead, the torso is either erect or turned around in *vivartita* creating a different impression. The knee of the *vrścika* leg touches the ground in each case: the lower leg is raised and the foot is at the hip. On the whole the *karaṇa kuñcita* is suggested.

A relief from Markanda (figure 95) depicts a finished movement of a dance.

The dancer executes a precise *atikrāntā*. Her hands are also in a finished movement, one in a clear *ardha patākā* and the other in a *patākā*. The raised head in *udvāhita* with the elbow at the chin level adds to her grace. On the whole the pose suggests any of the *recita karaṇas* of Bharata. The dancing drummer (figure 96) has a *sūci pāda* in its final position with an *agratalasañcara* foot. The little toes are slightly bent inwards and the foot is placed slightly forward, which gives the figure an added sense of movement. Figure 97 from the Sāsabahu temple of Gwalior shows a *prṣṭhasvastika* with a *vivartita* of the waist. The *ūrdhvajānu* and the *prṣṭhasvastika cārīs* seem to have been a great favourite with sculptors throughout India in the medieval period.

Aihole

There are many examples of dance sculpture in the Tirpurāntaka and the Maulīśvara temples at Aihole. Most of them are seen on the perforated screens of these temples. The dancers are mostly seen in a *maṇḍala* or *vaiśākha sthāna* with a *vivartita* movement of the waist. These figures can be identified as the *karaṇas niveśa* and *lolita* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Kerala

The scene from the Trivikramamaṅgala (figure 98) and the *Kudakuṭṭu* dance, Kidangur (figure 99) provide enough evidence to convince one of the similarity of the style of dancing prevalent throughout India from Rājasthān and Khajurāho to Kerala, and from Gujarat to Bhuvaneśvara. The dancer in figure 98 has a *prṣṭhasvastika* pose like the Purānā Mahādeva figures; one hand is near the chest while the other is extended in *latā*, like the description of the *karaṇa prṣṭhasvastika*. The hip is turned around and the torso is again twisted to the front, resulting thus in a *niyrtta* movement of the *kaṭi* and the *vivartita* movement of the *pārśva*. One foot is in *agratalasañcara*. The relief from Kidangur (figure 99) depicts a *kudakuṭṭu* (pot-dance): there is much greater sense of action and rhythm in this dance than in the movements of the dancers in the earlier frieze: the dancer seems to juggle deftly with the pots, and two are balanced on the arms, while one is still in the air. Even in this dance we notice that the *kṣipta* knee position is not forgotten and there is the suggestion of both the *recita* of the *latā hasta* of one arm and the *kuñcita* of the other.

Pālampeṭ

In Pālampeṭ dance scenes are innumerable and the orchestration has achieved an unmistakable stylisation. The *mṛdaṅga* and the kettle drum (like the *edekkā* of contemporary Kerala) invariably accompany the dancer. Figures 100 and 101 from the Ramappā temple show dancers accompanied by drummers. The leg

positions of both the dancers are in *ūrdhvajānu* although the leg with the *samapāda* foot on the ground is not in a marked *kṣipta* position. The hands of the central figure are raised high above the head, and the hands are in *haṁsāsya*. The side (*pārśva*) is in a clear *praśārīta* movement of this figure while the torso of the dancer in figure 100 is in *prasārīta*, the torso of figure 101 is held erect in *sama*. One of the other dancers (second from the right) has a *svastika* position of the legs (figure 100) and the hands are in *pakṣavañcita*.¹²⁷ one hand is near the head and the other at the waist level. The drummers are also dancing, and one of the drummers in each of the figures plays the drum in a *karihasta* position.

Śrīśailam

Examples of completely finished and polished depiction of dance movement come from the Śiva temple, Śrīśailam, Kurnool district. Figures 102, 103 and 104 give us three different types of poses; each significant as dance movement and beautiful as sculptural relief. In figure 101 we see a dancer in the *ūrdhvajānu karana*. One hand is above the head in either an *Abhinayadarpaṇa haṁsāsya* or *Nāṭyaśāstra sandaṁsa*, and the other is extended down and held gracefully near the thigh; it is held in an arch and does not touch the thigh. The head is in *parivāhita*. The musical accompaniment consists of a flute, a cymbal, a *mṛdaṅga* and a *nāgasvaram*. One hand of the *mṛdaṅga* player is raised in *ardhapatākā* as if to indicate a special point in the metrical cycle (*tāla*). In figure 103 we have an exquisite example of the *lalāṭatilaka* pose, and, even though this and the Cidambaram sculpture do not seem to accord with each other in the interpretation of Bharata's *karana* by that name, both are undoubtedly attempts at sculptural representation of the final position of this *karana*. The present figure presents a pose which is more in the sphere of actual dancing than the *lalāṭatilaka* of Cidambaram or Kāñcīpuram. The main difference arises from the relative emphasis on the *kṣipta* position of the knees in the two figures. In figure 103, the *kṣipta* of the leg which holds the weight of the body is greatly emphasised and thus the curve of the back arched leg is more pronounced: the flexion of the knee is preserved and the leg is not straightened as in Cidambaram and Kāñcīpuram representation.

Figure 104 from the Śiva temple, Śrīśailam and the figure 105 from the walls of the Hazārārāma temple, Hampi depict different types of staff dances. In the Bāgh caves, we notice one of the first examples of this dance in painting: in these reliefs we find that the same character has been preserved though the dancers of the Śrīśailam temple seem more accomplished than those of the other reliefs. The tradition of the *dāṇḍīā rāsa* is preserved in the folk dances of India from Gujarat to Andhra and Kerala, and its popularity seems to date back to the 5th-6th centuries; about this time we find that the *dāṇḍīā rāsa* is also mentioned in contemporary literature. The dancers in figures 104 and 105 beat their sticks in *karihasta* and *svastika hasta* the lower limbs are seen in the *ūrdhvajānu cārī*; the dancers of figure 104 seem to have a staff in both hands. The staffs meet on the head level and

the knee level, and the pattern is repeated by the other couples. Figure 105 (top panel) shows clearly how all these couples are self-sufficient in themselves and yet form a group composition. It is also obvious from these reliefs that nowhere is the dance depicted as an isolated dance of a couple; it is always a group dance. These are perhaps the few sculptural representations of the *pinḍi bandhas* discussed by Bharata.

The dancers from the throne platform in Hampi (figure 106) belong to a different school of dancing, judging from their feet positions, their costume and their pose. They depict couple dancing through symmetrical poses: each pair is seen in the position of the *mandala sthāna* and one of the knees is bent inwards in *āvarṭita*. They hold an object in their uplifted *patākā hasta* which has a palm facing up in *uttāna*, the other pair of hands clasp each other. The dance is obviously not of the same kind as we have seen in the poses with the *ksipta* position of the knees, and seems to belong to a different category. The pose of the dancers cannot be identified as any of the *Nāṭyaśāstra karaṇas* although it comes nearest to an intermediary position of the *karaṇa niveśa*, which is inaccurately sculptured in Cidambaram.¹²⁸

Cidambaram

The Cidambaram temple and the Bṛhadeśvara temples are the richest sources for sculptural representation of dance poses: they are found on the Amman walls in Cidambaram, and the *antarāla* walls in Bṛhadeśvara. The *karaṇas* are seen on the pillars of the Gopuram in one, and on the walls of the *garbhagrha* in the other. The figures on the Amman walls have not been sculptured as *karanas* specifically but they are accurate depictions of significant moments in the movements of many *karaṇas*. Figures 107 to 120 represent a cross-section: their variety and their insistence on a distinct style is obvious.¹²⁹

The knees of all these figures are in *ksipta* and from this completely out-turned position of the feet other movements are derived: figures 107, 108, 109 and 110 show a distinctive *samapāda* but with considerable distance between the two feet. The hands of these reliefs vary but they are the hand gestures and positions of a common language of a distinct dance style which is established. The *latā hasta*, the *dola hasta* and the *kaṭakāmukha hasta* seem to be most popular. The total impression is of movements and poses suggested by *karanas* like the *ardharecita*, *apaviddha*, *kaṭichinna* etc. Figure 111 seems to present the movement of the *ardharecita karaṇa* with one hand possibly in the *patākā* near the ear and the other extended out in *latā* at the shoulder level. The *apaviddha* movement of the arms is suggested in most of these figures: the pose suggests the movement of the *karaṇa ākṣipta recita*.

The pose of figure 107 is suggestive of the *ardharecita karana* when after the *recita* of the hands one rests on the thigh and the other is extended out. In the Gopuram, this *karana* is sculptured slightly differently when one hand is near the chest, and the other is extended in *latā* above the shoulder level. Figures 108 and 110 also suggest the *ardharecita karana*. Figure 109 suggests the movement of the *karana kaṭisama* in the final position. Figure 112 suggests the *karana unmatta* where the two *hamṣapakṣa hasta* finally extend out above the shoulder level in the *dola hasta*.

Figures 113, 114, 115 and 116 from the Devī temple in Cidambaram, depict the same *kṣipta* position of the knees with one foot in *kuñcita* in all cases. The movement of the torso, the arms, the hands and the head makes each of them different. Figure 113 has a marked *udvāhita* movement of the chest with a corresponding *udvāhita* movement of the left hip. One hand is in *patākā*, with the elbow flexed, and the other arm is extended out in a *dola hasta* above the shoulder level. None of the *karanas* sculptured in the Gopuram depict this particular *udvāhita* movement of the chest, although many depict the feet position. The movement suggested by figure 113 is closest to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*'s description of the *karana ardhamattali*. Figures 114, 115 are variations of the same feet position with a clearly marked *kuñcita* foot of the *sūcī cārī*. Figure 114 is perfectly sculptured with a *sama kaṭi* and *sama* chest, the head is slightly bent to one side in a delicate *parivāhita* head movement. One hand is in *patākā* at the waist level and the other is extended down in *latā*, with the thumb touching the knee. The stance suggests the movement of the *karana valita*. The Gopuram relief of the *karana ghṛṇita* resembles this figure except that the position of the lower limbs is reversed. In the Gopuram relief the dancer's right foot is in *kuñcita*. Figure 115 has similar feet position, but the *kaṭi* is in a slight *udvāhita* movement. One hand is in an upright *patākā* at the waist level and the other extends out in *latā* with the wrist and hand above the shoulder level. However since the torso is not in *udvāhita*, the pose differs from the pose of the dancer in figure 113. A comparison of figures 113 and 114 and 115 shows the possibility of many variations of a movement with similar feet position. In contemporary practice the *kudittamitta* sequences in Bharatanāṭyam are reminiscent of movements suggested by these poses.

The feet position of figure 116 is also the same as the feet position of figures 113-114 and 115, but the arm movements and the head movement give this dancer yet a different stance. The arms are in *karihasta* with one arm crossing the body in the *latā hasta*, and the other held in a *patākā hasta* near the ear. The head is in an *udvāhita* movement, and the entire pose resembles the sculptural representation of the *karana lalita* in the Gopuram. A variation of the same hand positions and arm movements is seen in figure 119. Here the feet are different, the *kuñcita* foot is clearly raised and does not touch the ground; it is an accurate depiction of the *pārśvakrāntā cārī* movement in the initial position, and it can be concluded that

this figure rather than the Gopuram relief depicts the movement described by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* for the *karāṇa pārśvakrāntā*. Figures 118 and 120 depict two beautiful positions of the *ūrdhvajānu cārī* movements. In figure 118 the hands are in a *karihasta* with an *añcita* head position. The *ūrdhvajānu cārī* movement is perfectly captured by the sculptor and closely resembles the position of the lower limbs of the sculptural 'reliefs of the *karāṇa daṇḍapakṣa* and *ūrdhvajānu* in the Gopuram. This figure however cannot be identified as either *karāṇa* on account of its *karihasta* and it cannot be as identified as the *karihasta karāṇa* on account of its *ūrdhvajānu* position of the lower limbs. Figure 120 resembles the sculptural relief of the *karāṇa ūrdhvajānu* in the Gopuram, the position of the lower limbs being reversed. One arm hangs in front of the raised knee in a *dola hasta* instead of being raised shoulder high in an extended *latā hasta* as in the Gopuram figure.

A beautiful example of the *vr̥ścika* leg position with the *karihasta* is seen in figure 117. The figure closely resembles the sculptural relief of the *karāṇa nikuñcita* in the Gopuram. The *vr̥ścika* leg and the *karihasta* are seen in both the figures, although the neck is bent to the right in one figure and to the left in the other. The *karihasta* is not mentioned by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* although both these figures depict them.

The *Pr̥ṣṭhasvastika* position of the lower limbs with the complete *vivartita* movement of the waist is seen in figure 121. The crossing of the *svastika* feet and the turning around of the *trika* is perfectly captured: one hand is in *dola hasta* and the other in *allapallava* at the head level.

A complete and detailed analysis of the dance sculpture in the Devī temple, Sūrya temple and Natarāja temple in Cidambaram demands an independent study. The few examples included reveal the sculptor's keen eye for capturing precisely in stone dance movement. Observed closely, there is hardly a single repetition and each figure has some distinguishing feature: it seems most unlikely that sculptors were presenting variations on the same motif of the *kṣipta* knee position, *dola hasta* and *karihasta* without reference either to the *Śilpaśāstra* or the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It must be concluded from the precise delineation of movement in these figures that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and contemporary practice of the dance was being followed as meticulously and studiously by these sculptors as by the sculptors of the Gopurams who were seeking to illustrate the *Nāṭyaśāstra* verses of the *karāṇas* in the Gopuram more academically.

The story of these dancers and musicians in stone, however, does not end with the sculpture on the Cidambaram temple. Their prolificness and their precision speaks of a continuity of tradition, which was both deep-rooted and widespread. Dance was a significant theme of sculpture for several centuries: it is seen on the walls and shrines of temples in Kerala, Halebid, Belur, Madura, Orissa, Paharpur, Khajuraho, Rajasthan and Gujarat. The tradition of Elura and Auranga-

bad continues till the eighteenth century. Some of the temples of Gujarat of the eighteenth and even nineteenth century testify to the wide prevalence of a similar tradition of dance in different parts of India. The Cidambaram reliefs stand as an important landmark in this history, and if a history of the dance is reconstructed through evidence in sculpture, then Cidambaram is certainly one of the richest and most important sources.

Although the present study does not aim at tracing the history of dance through subsequent centuries from examples spread throughout India, it can be fairly certainly concluded from all available evidence that a common tradition of the dance existed throughout India till the seventeenth century, and perhaps later. The regional differences in sculpture styles are nonetheless significant; strict regional codification of movement is easily noticed: an unmistakable tradition of the classical dancer performing to a drum, a flute and occasionally a *vīṇā* is seen in all the temples. The knees, the waist, the feet, the arms, and the hands are similarly treated. Some movements seem more popular than others; thus the *śvastika*, the *ūrdhvaṅṇu*, the *bhujāṅgaśrī* and *lalita* and the *vr̥ścika* are vocabulary of a common language of movement arrested in dance sculpture through many centuries over a vast geographical area. Some contemporary styles preserve the characteristic features of this tradition more rigorously than others: Bharatanāṭyam uses the basic *ardhamāṇḍali* most rigorously; other dance styles like Orissi and Kuchipudi also use it. Kāthakali perhaps derives the rectangular basic stance from the *māṇḍala sthāna* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Although the history of contemporary classical dance styles in their present form cannot be traced too far back, each style preserves some characteristic feature of this rich over-powering technique; unmistakable links between these dance styles and the earlier tradition exemplified in literature and sculpture, exist: nonetheless a systematic and objective study has yet to be conducted so that a history of the evolution of movement can be traced.

Karaṇa

Apart from the hundreds of unclassified dance poses found on the walls of temples, some of whom we have discussed, there is a category of sculptural relief where the sculptor sought to illustrate movement described in the texts of dance through the plastic medium. Three outstanding examples of this exist in the temples of South India. The first belongs to the eleventh century from the Bṛhadeśvara temple in Tanjore, the second of the Śāraṅgapani temple of Kumbakonam and the third the Cidambaram temple in the four Gopurams. Both at Bṛhadeśvara and at Cidambaram the sculptors were obviously making a deliberate attempt at illustrating movement described not so much in the *Śilpaśāstra* as in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Sir T. N. Ramachandran has attempted to identify the poses in the Bṛhadeśvara temple with the *karaṇa* described in the fourth chapter

of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He has proceeded more or less on the same hypothesis as Sri B. V. N. Naidu and Sri Ramakrishna Sastri, have in respect of Cidambaram: these scholars imply in their discussion that *karaṇas* are static positions and therefore it is possible to identify the sculptural representation accurately with a particular verse of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. A comparison of the *karaṇas* as sculptured in Bṛhadeśvara and as identified by Sri Ramachandran with the sculptural reliefs of these *karaṇas* in the Cidambaram temple is a rewarding study but it has not been possible to include it in the present volume.

The *karaṇas* as sculptured in the Gopurams in Cidambaram and as analysed and identified by different authorities has been discussed by us in the second chapter. Here we can include only a few illustrations of these *karaṇas*. Figure 123 represents *añcita* (*karaṇa* 22). The *Nāṭyaśāstra* mentions the *ardhasvastika* of the feet, and the *parivartita* movement of the hands. The commentary of Abhinavagupta adds that after performing the *ardhasvastika karaṇa* and the *karihasta* of the arms, one should execute the *alapallava* gesture in the region of the nose. The sculpture shows a crossing of the feet, with one foot in a clear *kuñcita pāda* and the other in *samapāda*. The arms are seen in *karihasta* but the hand is near the shoulder rather than the nose and is in *patākā* and not in *alapallava*. Figure 124 illustrates the *karaṇa talavilasita* in its final position. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* states that the leg should be extended to the side and held high while the foot with the toes and soles upturned should face the sky. The commentary adds that the leg should be in *latā* and that the movement should be performed by either leg alternately for purposes of practice. A clapping of the hands is indicated in the initial position: in the final position they should be also bent and held high. The position seen in the sculpture is one of the many positions which could be attained by a sideways uplifted leg, and the sculpture shows an extreme position of an uplifted leg with the elbows bent and the hands at the level of the ears. Figure 122 depicts a *karaṇa* which has commonly been identified as illustrating the description of the *karaṇa catura*. Some of the *nṛttamūrtis* of Śiva in this particular pose have also been identified as *catura*. The description of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* does not mention the *karihasta* movement seen in the sculpture. It only mentions an *añcita* hand which the commentary explains as the *alapallava*. The relief shows one hand in a *hamsapaksa* held obliquely and a *dola hasta* of the other arm crossing the body. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* mentions the right hand as being in *catura*. Since the *Nāṭyaśāstra* does not specifically mention the positioning of the arms, it is possible that in practice the *karihasta* arm position was used, but nonetheless, this sculpture as also the other figures of Śiva dancing in this pose do not depict either the *alapallava hasta* or the *catura hasta*. The movement of the feet mentioned by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* was more difficult to capture in sculpture; *kuṭṭila* or *udghaṭṭita* is a toe heel movement of the foot, where the heel strikes the ground, when the toe is already in contact with the ground. In the sculpture one foot is in *kuñcita* touching the ground and the other is in a *samapāda*. In fact it would

appear that the sculptor was repeating to a large extent the movement of the *karaṇa lalita* where the *karihasta* and the *kuṭṭila* of the feet are specifically mentioned and which is accurately sculptured in Cidambaram. The position of the arms is reversed in the sculpture of the *karaṇa catura*.

It is possible thus to take each sculptural relief of the Gopuram in Cidambaram and to analyse it in its minutest details with the verses describing the movement in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Discrepancies in depiction occur in quite a few cases, and some of these have already been pointed out in an earlier chapter. However, it must be admitted that in most cases the sculptors have attempted to capture the spirit of the movement at a given point, and the *karanas* of the groups *vṛścika*, *svastika* and a few derived from the *cārīs* have been fairly accurately sculptured.

Nṛttamūrtis

The *Śilpaśāstra* and the *Āgamas* and specially the *Kanikāgama* and the *Kāraṇ-gāma* have dealt at great length on the iconographical aspects of the *nṛttamūrtis*. Gods and Goddesses of the Hindu pantheon in their dancing aspects have been the subject of considerable research and many scholars have tried to identify these poses in relation to the sculptural texts. Some scholars in recent years have also devoted attention to these poses from the point of view of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It is not our purpose here to analyse these dancing aspects in relation to the sculptural texts; it is also not our purpose to present a historical survey of the *nṛttamūrtis* from the earliest times to medieval Indian sculpture. The subject is too vast and calls for a fresh independent study. We have included a few examples to present a cross-section of these *nṛttamūrtis* as they are found in different periods and in different regions of India.

The Gods and the Goddesses who assume dance postures are many; it has not been possible to include even a representative example of each of these Gods and Goddesses. We have confined ourselves to some well known figures of Gaṇeśa, Garuḍa, Sarasvatī, Viṣṇu and Śiva. In the analysis no attempt has been made to repeat or to re-interpret the identification of these poses in terms of the *Śilpaśāstra*, the *Āgamas*, the *Śilparatna* etc. Our purpose is merely to establish that when these Gods and Goddesses dance the poses they strike belong to the field of *nṛtta* described in the dance texts, more particularly the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

The *nṛttamūrtis* begin to appear fairly early in Indian sculpture, but they are most prolific in the medieval and the late-medieval period. The *nṛttamūrtis* of Śiva in the Elurā and the Elephanta caves are well known. So are the *nṛttamūrtis* of Sarasvatī and Durgā of the Cālukyan and Hoysāla periods. However, we find the representation of Gods and Goddesses as dancers all over India and many more

examples could have been included from Khajurāho, Rajasthan, Bengal, the Deccan area, Tamilnad and Kerala.

These *nṛttamūrtis* naturally share the characteristics of the sculptural style of the period and the region. They cannot be seen as a class distinct and therefore common to all parts of India. The different poses of the *nṛttamūrtis* of Garuḍa, Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī, Durgā, Viṣṇu and Śiva have the characteristic features of the sculpture of the region. The identification thus even from the point of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is only a general identification in terms of the *cārī* positions as judged from the movement of the limbs or certain characteristic features of the *karāṇas* described by Bharata in the Fourth Chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Two examples of Gaṇeśa from the medieval period are interesting. A *nṛtta* Gaṇapati from a ceiling of the Mukteśvara temple in Bhuvaneśvara (figure 125) is an excellent example of a dance scene complete with orchestration. The dancing God stands in a *samapāda* of one foot, and a *kuñcita* of the other in a position of the *ardhasūcī karana*. The God has four pairs of arms: the two upper arms are high up above the level of the head and hold a snake like a creeper. This pair suggests a position of the *uromaṇḍala hasta*. The second pair must have held a rosary and a *kapittha*. The rosary is distinct, but the other hand is broken. The third pair is in a gesture of the dance: again the left hand is broken, but it is likely that it was a *natākā hasta*. The other is in *kāṭakāmukha* and holds a lotus stalk. The fourth pair is indistinct, but one of these was certainly in front, palm facing out and placed on the chest. The trunk of the elephant God is also curved suggesting movement. In spite of the limited space and the rotundity of the figure, the knees are in a clear *kṣipta* position, definitely making this pose into one of the many dance poses of Gaṇapati.

The orchestration is simple: there is a drummer with two drums, suggestive of two vertically placed *mṛdaṅgas*; the manner of playing almost suggests a *tablā*, but it would perhaps not be correct to identify the percussion instrument as the *tablā*. The other accompanist sits erect on the hips and knees raised: one plays the *mañjirā*. Two other subsidiary figures delicately balanced on lotus leaves, are on a higher level than the musicians: the feet position of one suggests a *catūra karana*, and the other a *sūcī cārī*. Both hold lotus stalks in one hand the other arm is relaxed in *dola hasta*. While there are many scenes of the Gaṇapati dancing, this is a rare example in which there is musical accompaniment and support of other dancers.

There are many examples of the dancing Gaṇapati from Halebid. In some he is seen dancing in a distinct *ūrdhvajānu*, and in others in *pārśvajānu*: in yet some others we can see the movements of the *kaṭisama* and the *lalita karana*. In all these the *kṣipta* of the knees is distinct, and usually one foot is in *samapāda* with

the toes pointing outwards. In Figure 126, in spite of the heavy ornamentation and ornate style of the sculpture, the pose is distinct. He has a perfect *ardhamañ-dali* and one foot is in *samapāda*. The other is possibly in *kuñcita* for it seems as if only the forepart of the foot is touching the ground. He also has four pairs of arms, and each pair holds the conventional implements associated with the deity. One pair is at the level of the head: one is in a *muṣṭi*, and the other in *sūcī* or *ham-sāsya*. One hand of the second pair is in *ardhapatākā*: and one hand of the third pair is in *kaṭakāmukha*. One arm of the fourth pair is in a graceful *dola hasta*, palm facing out.

The pose (figures 127 and 128) of two examples, of Garuda from Halebid holding Lakṣmīnārayana, is in the *kuñcita karaṇa* movement. In one the God is kneeling on the ground; in the other it is a distinct flying movement. The second figure is full of dynamism, with one leg in a typical deep knee flexion and the other thrown outward. The two knees form a diagonal which is reinforced by a forward thrust of the torso which is in *udvāhita*. The right arm follows the line of the leg and the movement of the God is in direct contrast to the equipoise of the divine couple he supports on his left shoulder. The sculpture is effective for its high relief and its powerful dynamic movement.

Two examples of Sarasvatī from Halebid (figures 129 and 130) are both seen in *ūrdhvajānu*. Figure 129 exhibits perfect control at the very moment of communicating a sense of open-movement. The lifted leg in *ūrdhvajānu* is beautifully balanced by an extended *dola hasta* at the level of the shoulder. The torso is in *sama*.

In the second example (figure 130), the lower limbs are in a similar position, only this time the right foot is in *samapāda* and holds the weight of the body and the left is lifted up, with the knee bent and raised to the knee level. The shift of the torso to the left however makes this pose quite different from the first one. the character of the movement also changes by the changed position of one pair of hands. Also the hand that holds the rosary is extended out in *latā hasta* at the shoulder level. One pair of hands are in *kaṭakāmukha*, *āvartita* and *parāvartita*. The slight shift of the torso, the slight change in the vertical median, imparts to the same movement a different character.

Both the examples of Garuda and Sarasvatī convince us of the many different possibilities of executing a movement indicated by a *karaṇa* or a *cārī*.

Thus, while the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Śilpaśāstra* may prescribe that the Garuda *nṛttamūrti* should be in *kuñcita*, and that of Sarasvatī in *ūrdhvajānu* both the sculptor and the dancer have freedom to execute the particular movement in a variety of ways.

This is further borne out by the two examples of Kṛṣṇa included. Both sculptures (figures 131 and 132) in terms of iconography and in terms of Bharata's *karaṇas* and *cārī* are also in *ūrdhvajānu*, but how different the quality of modelling and of movement of these figures from the Sarasvatī's and how different from each other. The Hoysāla stone Veṇugopāla heavy in character holds the flute in a pair of *kaṭakāmukha hasta*; movement is suggested by the flowing jewellery only: the uplifted leg is static. In contrast there is the Bālagopāla in bronze also in *ūrdhvajānu* with one *dola hasta* like the dancing Sarasvatī and the other hand in an *ardhacandra*. The God stands in perfect poise, with rare calm and is yet full of vitality.

The *nṛttamūrtis* of Śiva begin to appear in Indian sculpture around the 5th century and continue to find a major place in the depiction of Śiva until the 17th century. Although Śiva as a dancer appears in literature fairly early, the iconographical descriptions of Śiva as a dancer in the sculpture texts are found only in the *Śaiva Āgamas*. Gopinatha Rao, Coomaraswamy and now Sivaramamurti and other scholars have described eloquently the different forms of *Tāṇḍava* narrated in the *Āgamas*. As the supreme dancer he assumes many forms; the poses represent the different forms of *Tāṇḍava* and each dance is charged with symbolism.¹³⁰ In terms of the dance, Śiva like other innumerable reliefs of dance assumes poses which can be easily identified as *cārī* positions, *karaṇa* and *sthāna* positions of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Besides the *nṛttamūrtis* proper, there are aspects of Śiva in the *saṁhāramūrtis* where he assumes poses which can also be identified as *sthānas* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Some well known examples of Śiva's *nṛttamūrtis* have been discussed at length by Gopinatha Rao. Figure 133 from Elurā has been identified as the *kaṭisama karaṇa*. While it would be possible to identify this as the *kaṭisama* position, it would be possible to identify it also as a variation of the *añcita* or *lalita*.

The God stands with a marked *ardhamāṇḍali* position and a very clear *agra-tālasañcara* position. One pair of hands is in a clear *uromaṇḍala hasta* and of the other pair, one must have definitely rested on the knee. The musical accompaniment is not very clear from the relief but it is obvious that there were at least two or three musicians. Surprisingly enough, there is no clear indication of a percussionist.

Figure 134 from the same caves is slightly different. Here, the orchestration is complete with two *mṛdaṅgas* held vertically, a flutist and a cymbal player. The *karihasta* position of the God is also clear even if one arm is broken. The *prasārita* waist where the torso is broken up into two units is a characteristic feature of the later Elurā sculptures. The deflection of hips in the dance postures is also a feature which is characteristic of the Elurā Śiva sculptures. The pose has been generally identified as the *lalita mode*, the characteristic features being one *sama-*

pāda foot in *ardhamāṇḍali* position and one *kuñcita* foot along with a pair of *hasta* in which a *karihasta* is an absolute must. A comparison of figure 134 with those of Śiva in the same mode from Gurjar Pratihāra (figure 135) and Alampur (figure 136) show the development of the same pose. By the time we come to the Alampur figure, we find that the *ardhamāṇḍali* is clearer and the triangular position of the knees much more marked. There is no longer a *prasārita* waist. Instead, there is now only a *sama* torso. The bronze image, figure 139, is a perfect example of complete control with the possibility of dynamic movement. Sri Sivaramamurti has identified this pose as the *catura* position. A comparison of figures 138 and 139 with figures 135 and 136 will make it clear that the positions assumed by the dancing God could be attained largely in the execution of the *lalita karaṇa* or in the final position of the *catura karaṇa*. Puspagiri figure 138 is slightly different from the others in so far as the *kuñcita* foot does not touch the ground and therefore suggests a *pārśvajānu* position rather than *sūcipāda*. The complete frontal treatment of the figure also gives it a two dimensional character. It also differs from the others on account of the absence of the clear *karihasta* position. Indeed there is only a *dola hasta*. It would be much more accurate to identify this as a position of the *pārśvajānu* looked at frontally.

Another figure of Śiva from Aihole (figure 137) is in contrast to the controlled movement of either the Alampur figure (figure 136) or the Puspagiri figure (figure 138). The *kaṭi* is elevated. There is a definite *udvāhita* movement of the torso. One hand is in *kaṭakāmukha* and the other in *dola hasta*. The other pairs of hands hold conventional implements. Pārvatī and Gaṇeśa stand on either side in *samapāda* positions and are static. The lower limbs of the God indicate vigorous movement. There is a distance between the two feet, a feature which we do not often come across; both the feet are *kuñcita*, thus suggesting a *udghaṭṭita* movement of the feet. A sense of dynamism is created by placing the thighs in an open position. It is also indicated by general extension of all the five pairs of arms. While this relief is generally reminiscent of some of the reliefs of Elurā, there is a distinct departure in the manner of movement-treatment.

The lower limb positions as either *ūrdhvajānu* or *pārśvajānu* are seen in many examples of the dancing Śiva. Figures 141, 142, 143 and 144 from different parts of India show the variety of ways in which the *ūrdhvajānu* could be depicted. The Bhuvaneśvara relief, figure 140, is midway between the earlier *lalita* or *catura* mode and the later *ūrdhvajānu* movements. The *karihasta* and the *dola hasta* are both seen here. There is also a *prasārita* movement of the waist. The Figures 141 and 142 are however definitely depictions of the *ūrdhvajānu* with a clear *samapāda* position of one foot and an uplifted *ūrdhvajānu* movement of the other.

The Raichur figure (141) is vivacious, full of dynamism both on account of

the uplifted leg as also the two extended arms above. The other pairs of arms hold implements. While the Raichur figure in this position gives the impression of pure *nr̥tta* of *sukumāra* type of dance, figure 142 from Halebid is definitely in a *raudra rūpa*. Here the God stamps firmly the *asura*, holds the trident diagonally and the uplifted foot assumes a sense of power. This slight aggressive quality is achieved by treating the torso tautly and this time the torso is *udvāhita* and of course the facial expression reinforces the mood created by the lower limbs and the upper limbs.

Figure 143 is different from the earlier two because here the face has changed its direction, although there is a clear *ūrdhvajānu* position of the legs. The *karihasta* of the arms balances the uplifted leg: the face is not straight front, as the neck bends to one side. The God is accompanied by dwarfs playing on the *mṛdaṅga* and *mañjirā*. One of them is in a marked *kuñcita* position. An interesting feature of the later medieval sculptures of the Śiva images is the definite appearance of the anklets. If the Raichur figure and the Halebid figure are seen closely, we observe that the *nūpur* has been substituted very definitely by a pair of *ghuṅgru*. The *ūrdhvajānu* position at its most exaggerated form is seen in figure 144 and in its very controlled mood in the Palampet figure 145. The Palampet figure is very definitely a dance scene where Śiva dances accompanied by two consorts in *uromaṇḍala hasta* and musicians with drums and other musical instruments.

The Natarāja figures of the Cola period belong to the group of *karanas* of the *bhujagāñcita* and *bhujagatrāsita* variety. Two examples, one from the Rock-hill Museum, Kansas, figure 146, and the other from Madras Museum, figure 147, have been discussed at such length that they need no further detailed discussion here.

Amongst the other *karanas* which are chosen for the depiction of Śiva in his dancing aspect, the most important is the *lalāṭatilaka*. Figure 150 from the Śāraṅgapāṇi temple and figure 153 from Kāñcipuram show how the same pose could be treated very differently. In the Śāraṅgapāṇi relief, figure 150, the static foot is in *ardhamanḍali*. The uplifted foot is straight but covered by the arm. The torso is also erect. There are nearly 10 pairs of arms of the God, all holding implements quite apart from the main pair of arms which are distinctly in a dancing movement. The raised foot does not touch the head. How very different is the depiction from the *lalāṭatilaka* pose of the female dancers in the Śrīśailam relief. Figure 153 from Kāñcipuram is massive, impressive and aggressive. The static foot is erect. There is no *ardhamanḍali* and the dynamism emanates from the massive torso.

As Bhairava and as Andakāsuravadhamūrti, Śiva assumes poses which may be identified in terms of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* movements. There are two magnificent examples of *ālīḍha sthāna* of Śiva as Bhairava in figures 148 and 149. The Elurā figure 149 is significant for the clarity of its lines and for the consistent use of dia-

gonals in movement. The medieval figure from Rajputana, figure 148, is in *ālī-dha sthāna*, but this time the weight shifts entirely to the side of the extended leg rather than the leg which is in *ardhamandali* position.

An example of Viṣṇu from Nepal (figure 151) also depicts the possibility of diagonal movement. This figure may or may not be identified as a movement from the *karanas* of Bharata but it would really not be wrong to identify it as a moment in the execution of *viṣṇukrānta karaṇa*. The sculptor has no doubt taken liberties with the foot which holds the weight and had that foot been completely on the ground in a *ksipta* position this would have been an accurate depiction of the final position of the *viṣṇukrānta* movement.

From Kāñcīpuram we have one interesting example of *nṛttamūrti* of Śiva (figure 152), where the God is in a *kuñcita* mode. This mode we have analysed at some length in the context of the flying forms. We have seen it in Khajurāho and in other medieval temples. However, here the *karihasta* and erect arm position gives it a different character. As Andakāsuravadhamūrti and in his aspect as Gajasamhāramūrti, Śiva can be seen in two significant positions of the *prsthasthāvastika* positions (figures 154 and 155 respectively). Figure 154 has been identified as a *bhairava* figure, but perhaps that is not entirely a correct identification. The pose of the God is undoubtedly in *prsthasthāvastika* and is reminiscent of the Jodhpur reliefs. As Gajasamhāramūrti (figure 155) there is as much movement, but the character of the pose has changed on account of two distinguishing features. The leg which holds the weight of the body is erect and not bent in a *ksipta* position. There is then a twist of the torso (*trika*) and a diagonal portrayal of the *uromandala hasta*. *Ḍamaru* and the other implements become part of the movement in a dance. The drapery helps in the creation of this impression, indeed there is little to suggest that the God is in a ferocious mood. He is really calmly dancing over the head of the elephant.

Examples can be multiplied. Even this cursory glance will convince one of not only the prolificness of the *nṛttamūrtis* but also the possibility of variation in a given *karaṇa* or a *cāṇī* position.

From the Mohen-jod-daro figurine and the Harappa torso to the reliefs of Cidambaram and the bronze Naṭarāja figures of the 16th century is a long journey. This journey of movement bears testimony to the acute sensitivity of the Indian artist to movement. Like the seer of the Ṛgvedic period, the educators of the Upaniṣad, the priests of the Brāhmanas, the poets of the Kāvya and the dramatists of the Sanskrit theatre, the Indian sculptor whether he was creating sculpture in the round, or relief, high or low, or casting in bronze or sculpturing in wood, he was conscious of the human body as a most powerful instrument for the communication of moods, *bhāva* and *rasa*. Like the creative poet and dramatist he was also

knowledgeable. His imagination was harnessed to the canons of not only sculpture but also dance texts. Through these examples of Indian sculpture one can reconstruct to some extent a history of movement of Indian dance. Through these examples one learns that stylisation was a slow process. The beginnings were clear in the Udayagiri caves. These beginnings found development in the Gupta period; they were ornamented and elaborated in the medieval period and possibilities of movement were explored to their maximum by the sculptors of Khajurāho on the one hand and Bhuvaneśvara and Koṇārak on the other. The development continued in different parts of India giving rise to distinct styles and while following the main principles of the *bhaṅga* and the *sūtra* there were also regional variants. Thus, within a single continuity and unity there was a variety and many shades of the same colour could be discerned. The South Indian sculptor chiselled the tradition and he was an illustrator of movement *par excellence*. Bṛhadeśvara was the beginning and from Bṛhadeśvara to the reliefs of the Śāraṅgapāṇi temple is a history of movement captured in stone incomparable to any found in the world. The Bṛhadeśvara sculptor was trying to illustrate different stages of movement and even if some of the reliefs give impression of surrealistic sculpturing he was really notating movement. He was followed closely by the sculptors of the Cidambaram Gopurams, as also by the sculptors of the reliefs of the Amman in Cidambaram. The Śāraṅgapāṇi temple presented a tradition slightly different from the classical tradition but one which is significant for its regional characteristics.

The over-powering richness and variety with an incredible continuity can be seen in dance sculptures of India for nearly 17 centuries. In fact, its richness has always been a source of inspiration to the dancer. The dance poses of the *nṛttamūrtis*, the *śālabhañjikās* and the flying figures have been a challenge to the imagination and creativity of the contemporary dancer, and little wonder that the Naṭarāja is the *iṣṭadevatā* of all dancers.

Notes

1. *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāna* III. 35, v. 5-7 (Translation by Dr. Raghavan in Trivenī Vol. III, No. 2 Sept.-Oct. 1963 in his article 'Kathakali' and other forms of 'Bharatanatya')
2. *Manasara* CH. IIX v. 67-100 and *Śukranītsāra*, Kasyapa CH. 49, etc.
3. *NS* X, 52-53 ff 65-66 etc. and *NS* X 17-26.
4. See *Manasara* CH. LV v. 1-15 for definition of the different types of measurements.
5. *NS*, XII, 163b-164b.
6. *Ibid* IX, 247-248.
7. Kar, Chintamani, Indian Metal Sculpture, figs. 4, 27, 37, 41.
8. *NS*, XII 163-164, 167-168.
9. *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāna* III CH. 39, 1-32 and 40-42.
10. *N.S.* X 51-ff see specially verses 61-63, 67-68, 70-71.
11. *N.S.* XII 163b-164a.
12. Rao, Gopinath, T. A Elements of Hindu Iconography Vol. I and II, part I, page 14, and Ganguly, O. C., South Indian Bronzes, p. 44—where he quotes the South Indian texts.
13. *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāna* III, 26, v. 8-13. *Agni Purāna* CH. 356.
14. See Theory and Technique of Indian Dancing where the sculptural representation of the *karaṇas* in Cidambaram is discussed.

15. Rao, Gopinath, T. A. Elements of Iconography where the *nṛttamūrtis* are discussed Vol. I, part I, Vol. II Banerjee, J. N., The Development of Hindu Iconography p 281 Ganguly, O. C. South Indian Bronzes, *naṭai āja* in Pls III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, XIII and Kṛṣṇa-tāṇḍava in Pls. XXIII and LXIV.
16. *N.S.* IX 236-238.
17. *N.S.* IX 254-256.
18. *N.S.* IX 257-258.
19. *N.S.* IX 226
20. *N.H.* CH. IX, 262b -263a
21. For other examples of the *Samabhangā* see, Kar, Chintamani, Indian Metal Sculpture figs. 19, 20, 36, and Ganguly, O. C. South Indian Bronzes Pls XVII, XVIII and XIV of *Candhaśekhara* XXV.
22. *N.S.* IX 55-56
23. Zimmer, Henerick, The Art of Indian Asia, Vol II, Pl 34b, also Pl. 33 and 35, for other examples of pillar reliefs.
24. For other examples of the Sāñcī diyaḍs see Marshall, J. Monuments of Sāñcī, P XXX, LXIII and LXIV etc. Also Ferguson 'Tree and Serpent Worship' Pl. XIII, Pl. IX and XIII.
25. *N.S.* XII 172b-173a.
26. *N.S.* X 34 and X 38.
27. *N.S.* X 33.
28. For a detailed discussion on the 'Woman and Tree Motif' refer to Coomaraswami, A. K., 'Yaksas', pp. 32-36 In his footnote (i) on p 35 he most firmly asserts that they are not dancing figures.
Smith, Vincent, 'History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon' (2nd edition), p. 73.
Vogel, J. Ph., 'Women and Tree Motif', *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. VII, Archaeological Survey Report (Annual) 1906-07, pp. 146 ff.
Grundwel, L., *Buddhist Art of India*, Women and Tree Motif, page 41.
Marshall, J., Monuments of Sāñcī, Vol. I. pp. 129-130 and 232 ff, etc.
Barua, B., *Bharhut*, Book III, pp 80-83.
Pisharoti, Rama "Salabhanjika" in 7 ISOA Vol III, No. 8
Kramrisch, Stella, 'Hindu Temple' Vol II, pp 340 ff She discusses the *yaksis* with reference to their symbolic significance discussed in the Tantric texts
29. *N.S.*, XII 163 b-164a
30. For other examples of the Mathurā railing figures, Agrawala, V. S. 'Rupalekha' Vol II, No 3 Figs 1-10 Agrawala, V. S. Mathura Museum, Catalogue, figures mentioned as Nos J. 55 and 2345 and pillar Nos B 92 and B 75 in Lucknow museum
Also Smith, Vincent, History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon Pl 16C and Pl. 18C.
Coomaraswami, A. K. History of Indian and Indonesian Art. Pl. XX and
Coomaraswami, A. K. 'Yaksas'— Pl. IV and VI etc.
31. *N.S.* X 15
32. *N.S.* IX 204.
33. *N.S.* IX 133b-134a.
34. *N.S.* IX 197.
35. *N.S.* IX 209
36. For other examples of Mathurā railing figures, see Smith, Vincent, History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, pp. 18 C, 19A, B, C.
• Coomaraswami, A. K. 'Yaksas' Pl. 6, fig. 3 and Pl II, fig 3.
37. *N.S.* VIII—171-172, and VIII—36.
38. Coomaraswami, Mirror of Gesture, Plate XI A.
39. The *ūrdhvajānu cārī* is the basis of several *Karanas* See *N.S.* IV 85b-86a—*Karana*. No. 25.
40. Smith, V. History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, Pl 39 A and Pl 39B.
41. Coomaraswami, A. K. 'Yaksas', Pl 14, Fig 2—in the Boston Museum now
42. Coomaraswami, A. K. History of Indian and Indonesian Art P XLVII, Fig 176, of Nāginī, Stucco, *anivar aṭha* (5th century)
Barua, B. K. The Cultural History of Assam, Figs 69 & 70
Agrawala, V. S. Gupta Art, life size images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā in Ahichchhatra etc.
43. *N.S.* X-35.
44. *N.S.* X-40.
45. *N.S.* IV, 125b-126a (*Karana* 65).
46. *N.S.* VIII, 174-175.
47. *N.S.* VIII, 29 and 35.
48. See Kramrisch Stella, Sculpture of India XXXII, Figure 80.
49. *N.S.* IX—41.
50. *N.S.* X—34.

51. *N.S.* IV, 9 *karana Gandasūcī* etc. *Sūcī*, *ardhasūcī* and the *sūcīviddham*, which derive their movement from the *sūcīpāda* and not *sūcī cārī*
52. *N.S.* X 24-26. Also see *Sangītaratnākara* Ch. VII, 934—5.
53. *N.S.* X —26
54. *N.S.* XII—163b—164a
55. *N.S.* IV 81b—82a (*Karana* 21).
56. *N.S.* X—15
57. *N.S.* IV—85b-86c
58. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, IX, 203.
59. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, IX, 209. Also see *Mirror of Gesture*, Pl. XI D.
60. Zimmer, Henerich, *Art of India*, Vol. II, Fig. 580
61. *N.S.* IX 200, 201
62. Silva-Vigier, Anil De, 'The Life of the Buddha', (Phaidon) Fig. 24
63. Smith, Vincent. *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, plates 60 and 67. See the figures on the right and left side, both have a figure in the *ūdhvajānu* position. The left second pillar has a figure in the *sūcī pāda*, and the side figure on the left pillar has a *svastika* of the feet.
64. Coomaraswami, A. K. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 107-108
65. Kramrisch, Stella. *Hindu Temple*, Vol. II Pl. XL
66. *Ibid* Vol. II, Pl. XLVII, Pl. XLIX, Pl. LI.
67. *Ibid* Vol. II, Pl. LX
68. *Ibid* Vol. II, Pl. LXII Pl. LXIII—the former depicts Śiva
69. *Ibid* Vol. II, Pl. LXXVI
70. Smith, Vincent, *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, Pls. 78(a)
71. *N.S.* XII 92-95.
72. *N.S.* X 58-71
73. See *vr̥ścika karana*, Chapter on Theory and Technique of Dancing.
74. The *angahāra* which are sequences of movements also utilise these *kaṇānas* for jumps and flight movements: they are mentioned in the following *angahāras*:
Vr̥ścikāpasvita (*angahāra* 13, *NS*, IV, 204b-206a)
Mattaskhalita (*angahāra* 15).
Vaiśākha recita (*angahāra* 20, *NS* 220b-223a).
Udvṛtta (*angahāra* 25), and
Āksipta recita (*angahāra* 27) etc
75. See also Mitra, R. L. *Antiquities of Orissa* VI, A6 & 7 Pl. XXII D2.
 Also, Agrawala, V. S. *JOSIA*, Vol. XIV 1946 *Vāsvadattā* and *Śakuntalā* scenes in the *Ranigumpha* caves'.
76. Mitra, R. L. *Antiquities of Orissa*, Pl. XXII D2
77. Barua, B. *Bharhut --Aspects of Life and Art*, BOOK III Pl. XXXVII fig. 47, Pl. XXXVII 32, etc.
78. Fergusson, 'Tree and Serpent Worship', Pl. LVII, fig. 2, Pl. LI and Pl. LVI, figs. 1 and 2, and *NS* X 66-67 etc
79. Zimmer, Henerich. *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. II, Figs. 96 and 98. Scenes from the adoration of the stūpa by the Nāgas
80. Smith, V. *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, Pl. 15, top
81. *Archaeological Survey Report 1930-34*, Pl. XLV and *Annual Report of Archaeology Survey 1930-34*, Pl. XXXIX
82. Kramrisch Stella, *The Art of India*, figs. 81-82
83. Mitra, R. L. 'Antiquities of Orissa', Pl. XIV A 15, Portions of a Frieze from the Lower Story of the Queen's Palace in Udayagiri.
84. Barua, B. 'Bharhut, Aspect of Life & Art', Book III, Fig. 95a
85. *Ibid* Pl. XXX 23.
86. *Ibid* Figs. 34, 39
87. *Ibid* Fig. 69.
88. *Ibid* Pl. XXX Fig. 23.
89. *Ibid* Pl. LXVII 80 b
 Also see Barua, p. 67 where he maintains that "the grandest dance in the 2nd century B.C. was that of Nagaraja, long perhaps before the dance of Nataraja came into the field"
90. Cunningham, D. Y. 'The Stupa of Bharhut' description of Pl. XV.
 Also see Barua, B. *Bharhut* Book III, p. 3 where he does not agree that the scene can be identified as that depicting the employment of Mara to tempt Buddha.
91. *N.S.* IX—184.
92. Marshall, John. *The Monuments of Sanci*, Vol. II, Pl. 36 (c) and description where he identifies the scene with the feast of the Mallas of Kuśinagara in honour of their share of the Buddha's relics & Fergusson, J. 'Tree and Serpent Worship'. Pl. XXVIII, Figure (1) and P. 136, where he thinks that the people belong to Kabul perhaps.

93. Marshall, J. 'Monuments of Sanci', Pl. 29, Back of Northern Gateway Middle section of Architraves.
94. Marshall, J. 'Monuments of Sanci', Vol. II, Pl. 18b and description on p. 227 of Vol. I. Also see Fergusson, J. 'Tree and Serpent Worship', pp. 139-140 & Pl. XXX.
95. Grünwedel, 'Buddhist Art in India', P. 17.
96. Marshall, J. 'Monuments of Sanci', Vol. III, Pl. 103
97. Fergusson, J. 'Tree and Serpent Worship', Pl. LXII, Fig. 2. Also see description on p. 198 where he discusses the ethnic types represented by the dancers.
98. Sivaramamurti C. 'Amatāvati, Sculptures in the Madras Museum pp. 150 - fourth para, where he identifies this as *atīkrānta karana* rather than the *atīkrāntā cārī*. However, it would be more accurate to identify this only as the *atīkrāntā cārī* and not the *karana*.
99. Also see, Fergusson, J. 'Tree and Serpent Worship', Pl. IX, fig. 2 --Top medallion, broken on one side, the scene depicts Nanda and his wife, and the story of the Jātaka of *Nāga campaka*. Also Pl. XXIV lower panel.
100. Fergusson, J. 'Tree and Serpent Worship', Pl. LXXII Fig. 2 - description at p. 210.
101. Fergusson, J. 'Tree and Serpent Worship', Pl. LXXIII Fig. 2 and I XVII. Also pp. 211-212 where Fergusson has a very interesting description of this dance.
102. *Ibid* Pl. LXXIV.
103. The differences between the *karthasta* and this must be borne in mind, for according to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* the *tripatākā* is held near the ear.
104. Fergusson, J. 'Tree and Serpent Worship', Pl. LXXIII.
105. *Ibid* pp. 211. There is doubt about the sex of the four dancers in front: the one at the back is certainly a lady, and the one in front in straight *sausthava* position is a man, but the other four may be men or women. The line on the upper waist level perhaps indicates a garment, as there is a corresponding line on the arms indicating sleeve. This is perhaps the only example of the top garment for women if we are to take it that the bangles and anklets they wear indicate 'women'. Sivaramamurti refers to them in the feminine gender right through. Fergusson in the masculine. It is possible, however, that the four are men, professional classical dancers who are dressed and ornamented for the occasion. The hip garments of the upper two make them out to be women while the lower two seem to be men. From their postures of the *bhujangāñceta* and the *latā vr̥cika*, it would perhaps be more correct to term these four as men.
106. ASIAR 1930-1934 Pl. XXXIX (b) Fragment of Pillar with square upper and lower portion middle hexagonal.
107. *Ibid* Pl. XII (b) Right.
108. *Ibid* Pl. XIV (c).
109. *Ibid* 1928-1929 Pl. XLVIII (a).
110. *Ibid* 1927-1928 Pl. LI (d).
111. Khandalavala, Karl. Illustration of Indian Sculpture and Painting, Pl. XII, Fig. 31.
112. Hargreaves, 'Buddha Story in Stone', Pl. XXII---in Lahore Museum.
113. Hackin, J. Guide Catalogue des Musées Guimet les Collections Bonaliques Paris, 1930.
114. Agrawala, V. S. 'Gupta Art', Pl. I, Fig. 1.
115. *Ibid* Agrawala identifies this as the *ankhya* kind of drum of the *Amarkosa*.
116. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. IV verse 278 --Bharata gives an elaborate description of the rules and regulations of the performance of the *asavita*. From his description here and in Ch. V, verses 16-25 regarding the preliminaries of a play, it is clear that the stringed instruments and the percussion instruments were clearly distinguished, their tuning too was done keeping the placing of the orchestra in mind.
117. We find other examples of this type of sticks in a painting of the Bagh Caves and in a scene from Ajanta.
118. This is one of the positions achieved in the *sthānas* assumed by young women in graceful gaits on the stage (N. S. XII 178b-183a).
119. For other figures see ASIAR 1907-1908, fig. (4) etc. p. 70. Also catalogue of Sarnath Museum under Female figures.
120. ASIAR, Pl. XX Marshall also Sahani, Dayarama, Sarnath Catalogue, Pls. XXVI-XXVII for dancing figures from Sarnath.
121. Agrawala, V. S. 'Gupta Art', Pl. VIII, Fig. 10.
122. Cohen W. 'Illustrations of Indian Art', Pl. VII, Fig. 2.
123. Some of these are dealt with under the head of the '*nrttamūrtis*' later.
124. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, IV. 76.
125. *Ibid* VIII. 168-173 and VIII. 33.
126. Kramrisch, Stella, 'The Hindu Temple', Vol. II, Pl. LXVII.
127. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, IX. 193.

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128. For other illustrations of dance poses from the Throne Platform reliefs from Vijayanagaram see Zimmer, Heinrich 'Art of Indian Asia', Vol. II, figs. 440 and 441.
129. For other scenes, from Halebid see Zimmer, Heinrich, Wall Fragment of musicians and dancers, Pl. 433
130. For discussion of *nṛttamūrtis* see the following:
 Rao, Gopinath, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 223-270.
 Banerjea, J. 'Development of Hindu Iconography', pp. 277-280.
 Ganguly, O. C 'South Indian Bronzes', Pls. VII-XII show different types of Naṭarāja. Pl. XIII is *gaja saṁhāramūrti*, Pl. XXIII is the *sandhyānṛtta mūrti* and Pl. LXIV and LXVI show the *Kṛṣṇa Tāṇḍava*.
 Zimmer, Heinrich, 'Art of Indian Asia'.
 Pl. 223, Śiva King of Dancers from Elurā.
 Pl. 232, Śiva dancing, Elurā, Rāmesvaram temple
 Pl. 261, Śiva dancing, Elephanta. Kramrisch, Stella 'Art of India'.
 Pl. 72, Śiva dancing, Mallikāṛjuna temple, Pattadakal.
 Pl. 110, Kṛṣṇa dancing on serpent Kaliya.
 Pl. 155, Veṇugopāla, *svastika* position of feet.
 Mīnakshi C. 'The Divine dancer in Pāllava Sculpture', Article in Indian Art and Letters, Vol. XI No. 2, 1938, pp. 93-98. Examples of the *kuñcita*, *lalita*, *lalāṭatūlaka* from the Kailāsanāth temple, Kāñchīpuram are illustrated.
 Srinivasan, P. R. Śiva Naṭarāja, the Cosmic Dancer, article in Roop-Lekha, Vol. XXVI No. 2 Winter 1955.
 Illustrations of Śiva in *Catura* pose from East Bengal, Bādāmi caves (fig. 1 and 2). Also the *lalita* pose from Aihole and Elurā. The identification of the pose *alatakṛdita* and *katisama* by Sri P. R. Srinivasan seems to be inaccurate
 Srinivasan, P. R. The Natarāja concept in Tamilnad Art, Article in Roop-Lekha, Vol. XXVII Vol. Summer, 1956. Examples of Śiva dancing in *ūrdhvajānu* from Kāñchīpuram and Kurnoo, Chingleput District. Figs. 2 and 4: *Bhujangāñcita* pose in a Naṭarāja bronze from Tirumangalam Taluk, Madurai District (fig. 6).
 Sivarammurti, C, Naṭarāja in Art & Thought, Chapter XIII, Fig. 11 Fig. 133. is identified as *catura*: this is perhaps more accurate than Gopinath Rao's identification as *katisama*.
Ibid Chapter XIII Fig. 56, identified as *ālīdha* the pose depicted obviously belongs to the *kuñcita* variety of *karanas* and is not a *sthāna*.

MUSIC AND DANCING

When Markendeya told King Vajra in the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* that he must learn the art of dance before he learnt the art of icon-making and the art of music before he learnt dance and that he must master *tāla* before he attempted to learn music, the Rishi was not being merely fastidious; he was stating a fundamental principle of the Indian arts. In Indian aesthetic theory the interrelationship of the arts has been known and recognised not on the level of the aesthetic experience alone but also on the level of technique. The concept of *tāla* (rhythm) has been fundamental to all the Indian arts. This preoccupation with time on various levels, in different contexts, and in relation to different artistic instruments has determined the structure of Indian music, Indian dance, Indian painting and Indian sculpture. In classical literature it has played a significant part in shaping both content and form. In Indian music and dance this is concretely manifested in the concept of *tāla* (metrical cycle). Indeed, one may without hesitation say that more than any other single element, it is this preoccupation with time which binds the two arts in a manner in which not even sculpture and dancing and literature and dancing are bound. To use a commonplace analogy, sculpture and dance seem like two sisters of the same family; literature and dance the background and foreground of the same picture, but music and dance are two limbs of the same human form. The relationship of these two arts is so intimate that at certain moments it is difficult to distinguish one from the other in the final artistic product.

As in the case of literature and dance, and sculpture and dance, the relationship can be seen and analysed from many points of view and on many levels. One could adopt one of several approaches to establish the different dimensions of the relationship. Firstly, it is not necessary for us to reiterate once again the common objective of *rasatapti* in all the Indian arts. It is recognised that the aim of all the Indian arts was to evoke a state of being resulting in an experience which was shared by the creator and the spectator-reader: the state of beatitude was second only to the supreme experience of Brahmananda. In terms of technique, on analysis, it is observed that the essential constituents of each of the Indian Arts can be broken up to its smallest fundamental units. A correspondence is established between these units, between the word spoken or written or mass or volume or measurement or note or movement and a specific emotive state; these basic units are then arranged in distinct patterns so that the pattern itself has an evocative potentiality. In the specific context of music, the technical structure is built from the *śruti* to the *svara* and from the *svara* to the octave; in an earlier chapter we have seen how the *śruti* and the *svara* charged with emotional content are capable of presenting a *bhāva* which in turn evokes a *rasa*. This identical approach in artistic technique establishes a basic relationship between any two Indian arts.

Besides, the relationship of music and dance can be analysed by examining

the details of the technical structure; it can be examined also from the point of view of the content of both Indian music and Indian dance. Finished compositions could be taken and the distinctive treatment of an identical theme in both dance composition and musical composition could be examined. It would also be possible to look at the relationship of Indian music and dance from the purely historical point of view. One could take the musical pieces mentioned in Sanskrit drama and could attempt to re-create these musical pieces in so far as they form the accompaniment to dance composition. Compositions like *challika* or the *catuspāda* mentioned in the body of Sanskrit plays could be taken for this purpose. It would also be possible to examine the part played by dance in what was known as *uparūpakas* of Sanskrit literature and the *saṅgīta nāṭya* or the *gīti nāṭya*, of the medieval period in order to establish that since musical composition determined the dancer's purpose of interpreting the sung word through movement, the form of the musical composition acquired a distinct character. This category would comprise the several operatic works written between the 13th century and the 19th century. One would undoubtedly have to begin with the *Gīta Govinda* and its manifestations as musical composition in different parts of India ranging from Manipur to Kerala. To this would be added the musical compositions of the saint poets of South India and the Bhakti poets of North India. Musical forms such as the *bhajan*, the *thumari*, the *hori*, the *dādrā*, the *pada varṇa*, the *jāvali* could be analysed to establish how the *svara* pattern was conditioned by the dancer's demands. Again, it would be possible for one to examine the dance chapters in the music texts and music chapters in the dance texts. This approach has been followed to an extent by the inclusion of chapters relating to dance in the *Saṅgīta* texts in Chapter II.

However fruitful all these avenues of exploration may be, they do not fall strictly under the purview of the present study. While it would be an interesting exercise to attempt to reconstruct the music and dance compositions mentioned in Sanskrit drama, it is a task for the academic musician. The task of analysing both musical compositions as also musical operatic forms is certainly worth attempting and this, it is hoped, will be taken up seriously and academically by some scholars. The present study confines itself to source material found in Sanskrit and therefore does not attempt analysis of material, musical and literary, found in the regional languages. For our purposes here, instead of examining the part played by dance in music, the approach has been reversed. We have taken in this chapter the oral tradition as our source material, as it is this living tradition which provides the links and makes the academic tradition worthwhile and meaningful.

These two arts alone amongst the Indian arts have, in spite of all the changes and transformations and the assimilations, maintained a continuity with the *śāstric* tradition we have discussed in the foregoing chapters. For our purpose here we have tried to establish the vital relationship between the two arts by analysing the repertoire of contemporary Indian classical dance from the point of view of musical

composition and our examination will, it is hoped, identify the manner in which the musical composition serves as the solid foundation on which the citadel of dance is built. ,

We know that the superstructure of musical composition is built by *svaras* (notes in an octave) which are charged with emotive content and each *svara* has a distinctive character: the *rāga* is built from the *svaras* by emphasizing specific notes in a particular sequence in the ascending and descending scales (*ārohan* and *avarohan*): the mood or *bhāva* of a *rāga* determines the nature of the *vādi* (assonant) and *samvādi* (consonant) *svara*. By treating these *svaras* in a special manner, by emphasizing some and ignoring others, by lingering on some, by running through a group of others, a particular mood is built. In Indian dance the different parts of the human form are like the notes of music in a given *rāga* (melody), and are used in an analogous way. The minor limbs (*upāṅgas*), and the eyebrows, eyelids, eyeballs, nose, lips, and mouth are emphasized in mime (*abhinaya*) and the major limbs (*aṅga*) i.e. the head, chest, waist, hips, thigh and feet are emphasized in the dance proper (*nṛtta*). There are then the *pratyāṅgas*, i.e., the neck, the elbows, the shanks and the knees which can be used in either aspect.

The poses so characteristic of the Indian dance are executed to emphasize a point of perfect balance, in fact all movement in Indian dance emerges from this point of balance or of perfect stillness and it is the same as the *sama bhaṅga* (the equipoised stance with an equal distribution of weight) of Indian sculpture. All movement returns to this point of perfect balance and stillness. We have already pointed out that, like the Indian sculptor, the Indian dancer also does not lay much emphasis on the muscles of the human form and takes the joints and the bone structure of the human form as its basis. We also saw how this enabled the dancer to achieve absolute form and geometrical patterns in space. The knee, pelvis, and the shoulder joints constitute the key points from which movement emerges in the lower and the upper limbs, the neck joint is the pivot responsible for the movements of the head and the face. The classification of human movement in Indian texts has, therefore, followed two categories: first, the movements of the major and the minor limbs separately which can be called primary movements, and second, combinations of these primary movements into small cadences known as *cāris*, *maṇḍals* and *karanas*. Each of these is governed by a rule and in each style of Indian dance today there is a distinctive stylization of these cadences of movements.

The technique of any classical style of Indian dancing can thus be analysed from the point of view of the treatment of the human body where certain movements are deliberately avoided and others emphasized and from the point of view of the particular methods of the gesticulation which forms the basis of mimetic gesture (*abhinaya*) in the style. The dancer, like the musician, uses movement to evoke

particular emotive states through pure dance sequences and through interpretation in stylized pantomime of the single poem set to music. To the purely musical, melodic patterns in a given metrical cycle the dancer weaves abstract geometrical patterns in space; to the words of the poem set to music (libretto) in a specific melody (*rāga*) the dancer interprets through stylized gestures the literary content of the piece. In either case the musical composition determines the dance compositions; the patterns of melody determine the pure dance sequences (*nṛtta*) and the nature and composition of the *sāhitya* (literary piece) determines the interpretation of the permanent mood (*sthāyī bhāva*) and transitory states (the *sañcāri bhāva*).

Let us take only the very simple existing musical patterns in a contemporary style of Indian dancing, say, Bharatanatyam. An analysis of the primary dance movements, as well as cadences of movement which correspond to phrases of music forming a melodic pattern (*rāga*), gives us an insight into the technique of the dance proper (*nṛtta*); an analysis of mime and stylized gesticulation to the poem gives us an insight into the nature of *abhinaya* (mime).

In Bharatanatyam, the principal stance of the dancer is one in which the body is broken up into a series of triangles. The triangle is formed with the line joining the two knees (flexed and outstretched as in the demi plie in the first position of the classical ballet) as the base, and with its apex at the heels (where the feet are outturned as in the first position of the ballet). Another triangle is formed with the waist as the apex and the line joining the knees as the base. A third triangle is conceived with the waist as the apex and the line joining the shoulder as its base. This is further emphasized by the outstretched arms, which make yet another triangle in space on either side of the vertical median. The flexed position of the knees known as the *ardha maṇḍali* or the *malla ukkāradal* in colloquial Tamil is an imperative in Bharatanatyam and the entire dance is executed with a few accepted exceptions in this position. The leg extensions, the jumps and pirouettes all emphasize this and the entire technique of dance-cadences is one which deliberately seeks to emphasize covering of space, in terms of many varied triangular patterns. The *adavus* (the smallest units of dance patterns) are conceived as different types of cadences where all movement relates to the vertical median on the one hand and to the fundamental equipoised flexed position of one half of the human body on the other. It is these primary units of movement where the feet and the hands and other limbs of the body form a precise co-ordinated movement which combine together to form a dance pattern. However, none of these primary or secondary movements are conceived outside a given time cycle and without reference to the musical or rhythmic phrase which they interpret in a composition.

The above can be illustrated throughout the repertoire of Bharatanatyam. The first number *alārippu* is a dance of invocation with little musical content, but one which seeks to execute a number of concentrated and yet elemental rhythmic pat-

terns. The basic and most significant movements are introduced, almost like the introduction of the chief notes in ascending and descending order in a melody. Beginning with perfect repose, an attitude of perfect equilibrium (the *sama bhaṅga* in the standing posture) the movements of the neck, the shoulder, the arms are introduced. This is followed by the *ardhamañḍali* (the demi plie in the first position of ballet), we have spoken of earlier, and finally the full *mañḍali* (the full plie in the first position of the ballet) is introduced. Thus all the major limbs (*aṅga*) and minor limbs (*upāṅga*) are executed in their simplest formations. The dancer is able to check on all her limbs, and attains positions of perfect balance and the piece is one which warms up the dancer for the entire performance.

The *jatisvara*, the next piece, is the first musical composition in music; it follows the rules of the *svara jati* in musical structure and consists of three movements, the *pallavi*, the *anupallavi* and *carnam*. It is distinguished from the musical compositions called the *gīta* on the one hand and the *varṇam* on the other by having no *sāhitya* (sung words of a poem) passages in it. The *solfa* passages are all important and the composition is set to any of the five *jatis* (time units) of the metrical cycle patterns (*tāla*) of Karnatic music, i.e., 3, 4, 5, 7, 9. The basic metrical cycle which guides the music guides the dancer; to the repetition of the sung melody the dancer weaves different types of rhythmic patterns in terms of the primary units of the dance (the *aḍavus*). The entire *koravaṅgal* (dance cadence of the *jatisvara*) is based on this principle of the constant repetition of the *svaras* (notes) of the melody in a given metrical cycle (*tāla*) to which the dancer weaves a variety of dance patterns. Thus, what is pure *svara* (note) in music becomes pure dance cadence (*nṛtta*) in dancing. The dancer and the musician may begin together on the first note of the melody and synchronize to arrive back on the first beat of the metrical cycle, or the dancer may begin the dance pattern on the third beat instead at the beginning of the melodic phrase and may yet synchronize with the end of the melodic line. The variety of permutations and combinations within these self-imposed limitations is infinite, and the more dexterous the dancer the greater is the complexity of patterns which are woven. However, nowhere is the basic *rāga* (melody) ignored and it is seldom that the characteristic *aḍavu* patterns of rhythm of one *jatisvara* can be transferred to a different *jatisvara* in the same *tāla*. We have a very good example of this if we compare the composition of a *jatisvara* in the *rāga sāveri* and another in the *rāga kalyāṇī*. Both are *tisra* in *tāla* but if one tried to transplant the dance patterns, called the *koravai* and *tīramanama* of the one to the other it would not be easily possible. The dance patterns are invariably conditioned by both the nature of the *svara* (note) and the duration of each *svara* (note) in the time measure. We have in the *jatisvaram* in the *rāga kalyāṇī*, the following notes in the melodic cycle:—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Sā	..	..	Nī	Dhā	Pā	Dhā	Mā	Gā	Re	Nī	Re
Sā	..	..	Nī	Re	Gā	Mā	Gā	Mā	Pā	Dhā	Nī

in the Jatisvaram in the *rāga sāveri* they are:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Sā	..	..	..	Re	Sā	Dhā	..	Pā	Mā	Gā	Re
Sā	..	..	..	Ni	Dhā	Sa	Re	Mā	Pā	Dhā	Re

We note here that each melody consists of twenty-four beats but the time interval and the pause position of the notes differs. While composing the dance pattern on each of these melodies, the dancer has to bear in mind the exact treatment of the note in the melody and the dancer's patterns are governed by the musical pattern. The cross rhythms and the non-synchronized patterns of the dance when the dancer deliberately does not execute a note to note synchronization is equally governed by the musical melody and the time metrical cycle (*tāla*). To a *svara* pattern of Sa - Ga Re Sa Ni - Re Sa Ni Dha - Pa Ma Pa the dancer achieves a note to note synchronization by executing Tai - Tai hat Tai hi - Tai hat tai hi -- tai tai ta -- and to Re -- Ga Ma Dha Ga -- Ma Dha Ni Ma - Dha Ni Re the dancers patterns are :—

Tai - dī dī tai Tai - dī dī tai Tai - dī dī tai.

These are the simplest and most elementary examples of the nature of the relationship between the notes of the musician and the dance patterns in Bharatanatyam. However in the more complex and intricate patterns the same principles are followed and the increasing joy of a Bharatanatyam recital is the dancer's ability of interpreting the endless variations of the melodic line in a metrical cycle. Just as much the notes (*svaras*) or *rāga* guide the pure dance sequences (*nṛtta*), the *sāhitya* (the words of the sung poem) determine the mime (*abhinaya*) of Bharatanatyam. Compositions like the *gīta*, the *padam*, the *kīrtana* and the *varṇam* are primarily musical compositions which the dancer interprets through movement by a most precise and highly complex technique of synchronization and co-ordination of the word and the gesture, the note and the movement.

The most interesting and complex musical composition in Karnatic music is the *varṇa* and this in turn is the most complex as also the richest dance composition in Bharatanatyam. In music the *varṇa* gives great scope to the musician for both the *sāhitya* and the *solfa* passages, to the dancer it gives the fullest scope for both pure dance (*nṛtta*) and mime (*abhinaya*). The *sāhitya* (sung poem) and the *svara* (notes in the melody) alternate with each other and the dancer performs *nṛtya* (mime and dance) and *nṛtta* (pure dance). The rhythmic patterns in the three tempos are a characteristic feature of the dance composition, and to a repetition of a line of the song, gigantic *tiramānam* (dance cadences) are woven in the three tempos making the dance composition a highly elaborate edifice on the foundations of the repetitive melody. The dancer begins with a *trikāla tiramānam* (a long dance sequence of *adavus* primary dance units) in three tempos which is composed to

the first line of the song. The mnemonics which the drummer uses, the dancer uses and those recited by the *naṭṭuvanar* (the dance master who recites the syllables of the dance pattern and plays the hand cymbals) are all different, although each has an intimate relation to the other and all of them in turn are governed identically in segments and the whole by the musical composition on the one hand and the basic metrical cycle *tāla* on the other. The architectonic structure of *varṇa* is a result of this many levelled layering on the musical theme. This diversified treatment of the musical phrase by the singer, the drummer, the dance-master and the dancer lead to a final synchronization, when the end of the *tiramānam* coincides with the first note of the song. The structure and the sequence of dancing of the *varṇa* could be roughly broken up as follows:

- (i) *Tiramānam* (dance sequence) to the first line of the song. No mime is used, only rhythmic patterns are executed.
- (ii) *Abhinaya* (mime) to the first line.
- (iii) *Tiramānam* (another dance sequence) to the first line.
- (iv) *Abhinaya* (mime) to the second line.
- (v) *Tiramānam* (dance sequence) to the second line.
- (vi) *Abhinaya* (mime) to the third line
- (vii) *Tiramānam* (dance sequence) to the third line.

and so on till the last phase is reached when the musician sings the notes in *solfa* passages of the fifth line and follows it by singing the text of the next line. The dancer performs *aḍavu* and renders pure dance sequences to the *solfa* passages and interprets through mime the *sāhitya* (libretto—sung words). The mime is often a word to word interpretation of the text in the same sequence and the dancer interprets the word in as many different ways as the meaning of the word is capable of suggesting, but invariably following the text and the musical form closely. The transitory states (*sañcari bhāva*) represented in the mime (*abhinaya*) portions change as the musician improvises on the melodic line. The theme consists mostly of the yearning of a devotee for the God, or of a lover for the beloved, and although the words remain constant the musician and the dancer both improvise within the *rāga* (melody) and the metrical cycle (*tāla*) to convey as much of the meaning and mood of the word as possible. The particular musical style of the singer often determines the dancer's interpretations and vice versa. The complete understanding between the singer and the dancer, and the dancer's ability to understand and interpret not only the word but also the musical note and its rendering is an essential prerequisite of this tradition. The dancer presents repeatedly through mime (*āṅgi-kābhinaya*) states of being which the musician expresses through the rendering of the *svaras* in a *rāga*.

The *padam* is a musical piece which belongs specifically to the sphere of dance-music, even though the term is often used to signify any type of devotional composition. The musical composition is created with the dancer in mind and its themes

treat mostly of *nāyikā* and *nāyaka* of literature. The *bhakti* school of poetry found its finest expression in the *padam* composed mainly during the medieval period, and the subtlest shades of *śṛṅgāra rasa* are manifested in these compositions. The music determines the nature of the *sañcāri bhāva* which the dancer depicts in endless ways and the chastity of the *abhinaya* technique at its best is seen in the execution of the *padam*: the greater the artist, the subtler the shades of *sañcāri bhāva* he or she can present.

The *jāvali* presents a different aspect of the *padam*: the earnest devotion and the *bhakti bhāva* of the *padam* is replaced by a comparatively lighter vein of the *śṛṅgāra rasa*. The *jāvali* like the *padam* treats of the *nāyaka* and *nāyikā bheda* but in a slightly lighter mood than the *padam*. The *nṛtta* and *abhinaya* portions of the dance are also not so clearly demarcated, and the composition is not as rigorous as the *varṇa* and the *padam*.

The *ragamālikā* and the *kṛti* are other forms of musical composition specially suited to dancing, they offer vast scope to the dancer for improvisation in both *nṛtta* and *abhinaya*.

The *tillānā* takes us back to the abstract musical and rhythmic composition: like the *jatisvara*, it seldom contains *sāhitya* passages: the dance also restricts itself thus to *nṛtta* and is governed by the crisp quality of the *svara* of music: more than any of the earlier musical numbers, rhythm is predominant in this composition and thus the dance gradually builds from the basic rhythm patterns which are simple first but gradually develop to form complex patterns. Compared to a *jatisvara*, we notice that the *tillānā* creates the atmosphere of the final crescendo of pure *nṛtta* and is much more intricate in design than the *jatisvara*. The very mnemonics of the song indicate its abstract and pure rhythm quality and the dancer interprets this through chiselled dance-poses. The dancer here begins with the eye movements, goes on to execute neck movements, follows it up with the shoulder and the waist movements and gradually, the whole physical form is in action in a series of sculpturesque poses. The musical line of the *tillānā* forms a stable pillar to which the dancer keeps coming back and perhaps here alone it might be said that the basic music melody serves as only a background on which the dancer weaves highly intricate patterns. Nevertheless, as in the *jatisvara* so also here, as the simple *pallavi* changes to the *anupallavi* and finally develops to the *carṇam*, the dance pattern also goes on gathering tempo and develops the simpler dance poses into one continuous dynamic movement.

The recital is concluded by *śloka*, another pure *sāhitya* piece in music and to this the dancer performs *abhinaya*.

From this brief survey of the contemporary programme of the Bharatanatyam

a few things become clear: the dance recital and presentation follows strictly the building up of musical patterns both in the sphere of *svara* and *saṅgīta* and in the sphere of *sāhitya*. The two then provide the *nr̥tta* and *abhinaya* of the dance: there are moments when the two are fused together. The pure rhythmical pattern of the *alāriṭṭu* gives place to the simple patterns of the *jatisvara*, and develop into the more complicated interspersed *svara* and *sāhitya* passages of the *varna*, and finally conclude in chiselled formalised patterns of the *tillānā*. The *sāhitya* or the *abhinaya* portion begins with the erotic theme of the *śabda* and is followed by the *sañcāri bhāva* of the *sāhitya* passages of the *varna*, proceeds to present the subtle shades of expression of the lyrical *pada*, and finally through a portrayal of the different types of *pada* both religious and secular in character, move to the final dedicatory mood of the *śloka*.

We observe thus that music and dance go hand in hand to produce certain effects and, by repeating identical techniques and methods the distinctive characteristics of the dance style become an integral part of the special quality of this music. The dance style has been described as *lāsya* and is fundamentally feminine and refined in character. The musical compositions of the dance style also have this sensuous and chiselled quality about them: the fine precision and clarity of the compositions of the dance style are not witnessed in many other dance style. There is hardly any superfluity and even when the dancer describes in ten or twenty different ways the same words of poetry she is representing a complex emotional state which is continuously receiving endorsement, ornamentation as also inspiration from the music. The absence of the *tāṇḍava* type of dancing in Bharatanatyam explains the kind of compositions that constitute its music. Since the purpose of Jayadeva *aṣṭapadi*, Kṣetragna *pada* and Dikṣitar's compositions was an attempt to express the yearning of the *jīvātmā* for the *paramātmā* the *pada* in dancing is invariably pure *abhinaya* where the devotee yearns for the deity and describes Him in different ways.

What is true of Bharatanatyam is also true of the music of other classical dance styles in India. Each number of the classical repertoire from either Kathakali or Kuchipudi or the Ojapali of Assam or Orissi or Manipuri could be analysed in terms of the musical composition or the rhythmical accompaniment. In most cases it will be observed that the dancer illustrates the musical phrase or the line.

Sometimes the degree of relationship is as precise and accurate as in the *jatisvara* of Bharatanatyam; at other times it is a more general relationship where the music provides a background against which the dancer weaves different patterns.

Kathakali music presents an interesting contrast to the music of Bharatanatyam. Contemporary Kathakali is essentially a dance drama and not a solo dance as Bharatanatyam. Its place and its environment are different. It is not con-

ceived in the sophisticated religious atmosphere within the temple walls. It is conceived as an architectonic presentation outside the temple in the court-yard. The musical accompaniment creates the atmosphere for enacting this dance drama which seeks to present the other-worldly super-human characters. The drumming of the '*ceṇḍā*' and the '*madalam*' creates this gigantic elemental quality. These instruments have vigour, magnitude and a spectacular vastness which has little in common with the embellished vocal singing of the Karnatic musician and the '*mṛdaṅga*' player. The '*Kelikoṭṭu*' starts the Kathakali performance. What is this '*Kelikoṭṭu*' but a combination of weird fascinating sounds of various percussion instruments!

The cymbals and the gong call the spectator, arouse the actor to transform into the character which he is going to play. This is followed by other musical compositions such as the '*Thoḍayam*' and the '*Vandānāśloka*'. The '*purappāḍu*' is a dance composition to a definite musical composition and it too serves the purpose of creating the right mood and the appropriate sense of mystery. The other invocatory compositions drawn from the Gīta Govinda serve the same purpose.

After this the drama proper begins. The musician recites verses and prose passages which describe the situation and supply the narrative links between the action not presented on the stage and the songs to which the dancer actually presents the story. The '*ceṇḍā*' and the '*madalam*' and the *ceṇḡalā* accompany this vocal singing. The style of this vocal singing has a distinct tonal expression because the singer is no longer like the Bharatanatyam dancer and musician a narrator; he is a character in a drama. The musician through the word and through the note provides the dancer opportunity to show laughter, anger, quarrel and the rest. The melodic line provides the boundaries within which both the dancer and musician perform: the singer is also a participator in the dramatic action. This particular style of singing has come to be called the *sopāna* style of singing as distinct from the *karnatic* style. The emphasis on the *sthāyas* and the *gamakas* like *andolan* and *lina* shifts. The selection of musical phrase is also conditioned by the fact that the musician must provide an opportunity for the dancer to portray the particular character. The musician has also to keep in mind that a performance lasts for more than six hours and he must go along with the dancer to present the whole spectrum of the *bhāvas*. The play begins usually with *śṛṅgāra* and develops through a series of *rasa* like the *vīra*, *raudra*, *vībhatsa* and concludes on a note of *śānta* in the early hours of the morning. The quality of the narrative lyrics in the dance drama is different from the shorter more compact *sāhitya* passages in the *varṇa* or the *kṛiti* of Bharatanatyam. Although they are called *padas* they have little in common with the composition called the *pada* in Bharatanatyam. These are no longer descriptions and manifestations of moods. They are verses which lead from one incident to the other, from one emotional state to the other. The singer must be a consummate musician with an eye on the movement and with a capacity to both guide and

to follow the dancer. The note to note and the phrase to phrase synchronization so characteristic of Bharatanatyam is seen rarely in Kathakali. It is the emphasis on a full line or a whole phrase which gives the dancer scope for improvisation. Indeed, the improvisation is carried to the extreme when the singer gives up and the dancer is left free to perform *manodharma*. In the *nṛtta* portions there is no *svara* accompaniment; there is only the 'madalam' or the 'ceṇḍā' which accompany the dancer in the execution of 'kālasama'.

The verses sung are often the compositions of 13th to 16th century musicians. This is true not only of the classical themes of the Kathakali dance drama but also of the other dance forms, ritualistic, martial and social, which are found in Malabar. 'Paṇa', *Paṭṭu* and *Mutiyettu* are all musical compositions describing the worship of *Kali* which are danced in groups and combinations. The *Pavakkuṭṭu* type of performance is akin to the Kathakali dramatisation even though fundamentally it is a type of ritual; similarly the *tiyyattu* and *Ayyappan paṭṭu* are both dance forms as also verse forms in music. In Kerala the art of pantomime, both in ritual and in artistic performance is supreme; this is true of all forms, such as *tulāll pāṭṭu* and *aṭṭam* and *kali*, the first, third and fourth indicate rhythmical movements and drama, the second suggests the idea of a song. In the *Kṛṣṇaṭṭam*, *Aṣṭapadiāṭṭam*, the *śloka*s are set to music and then enacted; the first name indicates the theme or the *sāhitya* source of the drama; *aṭṭam* of *Kṛṣṇa* indicates the drama relating the themes of *Kṛṣṇa* and the *Aṣṭapadiāṭṭam* refers generally to the singing of the *Gita Govinda* itself.

In Kathakali proper, the verses and composition are more formalised both in respect of *sāhitya* and in respect of musical composition, than some other forms found in Kerala. Plays such as *Kīchakavadha*, *Kalvāṇasaugandikam* and *Nalacharitam* are well known compositions in literature by Unnayi Vārīyar. Even before the introduction of *Gita Govinda* in the 14th and 15th centuries and the composition of *padam* that it gave rise to, Malabar had precursors like Vira Kerala Varma in this type of music. His compositions were embedded into Kathakali when Raja of Koṭṭarakkara gave it form and sophistication. The *aṣṭapadi* composition is characteristic of these creations also: the other composers of the Kathakali *sāhitya* need only be mentioned here: the great Karthika Thirunal Maharaja composed the famous compositions, 'Subhadrāharaṇam', 'Gandharv Vijayam', 'Pāñchālī-svayambara', etc., (1758-1798). The compositions are enacted even today. It is obvious that the main concern of these composers is with the *purāṇic* stories of the *Rāmāyāṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. These compositions have a set musical pattern: melody follows a distinct musical technique which is characterised by a natural flow blended with largeness of execution. There is perhaps a certain roughness in the rhythms and melody type of these compositions, but in range, magnitude, depth of thought and an elemental sense of beauty these compositions are a class by themselves.

We can easily conclude from this survey that the Kathakali dance drama takes for its themes, for its music and for its musical instruments and rhythm a different type of *sāhitya* and *saṅgīta* than Bharatanatyam. The evocation of *rāsa* is still the aim, but the themes do create an atmosphere of the gigantic, mysterious splendour of a world of myth and legend: the spectacle too is impressive, awe-inspiring and fearful, but not delicately beautiful and chiselled as Bharatanatyam. The largeness, the openness of the sounds of rhythmical instruments used and the epic narrative method of the song composition are most appropriate for the creation of the effect of epic grandeur and magnitude. A more technical study of the *sāhitya*, *saṅgīta*, *tāla* of each of these dramas would easily lead to the conclusion that the musical composition was directly determined by the function it had to serve for dance drama; the dance style in turn is the visual, kinetic manifestation of the different aspects of theme, music and rhythm. It would not be easy, for example, to set Kathakali hand gestures and movements to a lyrical *padam* of Bharatanatyam: the language of physical movement, the music and the *tāla* of each style cannot be transplanted to the other, for the result is an incongruous composition of dance which lacks integrity. The content, the themes and the musical composition have been so dexterously woven into the fabric of what is known as dance in each of the regional styles that it is no longer possible to separate one single element. Without the music, the dance lacks character and meaning; without an awareness of the dance, the music ceases to have significance. Through constant use and chiselling a definite personality has emerged, a personality which is not an aggregate of many varied elements but a homogenous conglomeration. This explains the failures of attempts at mixing styles or transplanting the musical content of one to the other. Indeed, the methodology and technique has been so perfected that there is no scope here for expression of subjective emotion: the performer is only an instrument of presenting and communicating an impersonal emotion, soul's state, and this one can do only through completely transcending and annihilating the personal self rather than through an expression of it.

The principles which guide Bharatanatyam and Kathakali also guide the other dance styles of India, specially Kuchipudi, Orissi, Manipuri and Kathak. In Manipuri we find that the dancer performs the *nṛtta* portions to the accompaniment only of the *khol* called *puṅg*, and the *mañjīrā*. Occasionally a melodic line on the flute is played, but this is a repetitive line and only provides a stable background to the changing patterns of the rhythm and dance movements. In the *abhinaya* and the *nṛtya* portions the musical composition is all important because in these portions the dancer once again is an illustrator of the musical word. We may take only a few examples of the simplest compositions of Manipuri to see how the music and literature of the area influence on the dance. The playing on the drum (*puṅg*) is the customary invocation before all performances; various rhythms are exhibited. This is followed sometimes by the *vandanā nṛtta* which is a homage to *Sarasvatī* for her blessings. The invocatory section is concluded by the presentation of some pieces

from Jayadeva's *Gīta Govinda*. In the different types of *Bhaṅgi pareṅga* known to Manipuri, although the emphasis is on pure *nṛtta* there are musical passages which are interspersed with pure metrical passages. From this point of view the musical compositions of *rāsa* dances are most significant. Each of the *rāsa* dances can be broken up into the *sāhitya*, the *svara* passages and the pure rhythmic passages played only on the *puṅg*. A definite pattern of lyrical composition is followed in each of the *rāsa* dances.

In the *Mahārāsa*, as also other *rāsa*, the invocatory *kīrtan* (to which slow movements are performed) is followed by Krishna *Abhisāra*: the *Gopī* and Radha *abhisāra* follows. The mood of mutual search of yearning is built: Krishna and Radha meet and this provides scope for a *pas de deux*; and then there is again separation and the dance ends in a final unity of the two elements. Highly emotionally charged lyrics are sung to represent the mood of Radha and Krishna, and even if the *abhinaya* deliberately avoids explicit expression, it is highly communicative: the lyrics are interspersed with portions of intricate sequences of pure dancing, which provides the dancer scope to perform pure *nṛtta* sequences from the *Achauba Bhaṅgi Pareṅg* and *Brindāban Bhaṅgi Pareṅg*. Thus, while the differences with Bharatanatyam and Kathakali are marked, the basic approach is similar. To the sung lyric the *abhinaya* is performed, and the movement is vitally linked to the sung word, in the *nṛtta* portions, the percussion instrument becomes all important and *tāla* assumes a predominant role; unlike most *nṛtta* numbers in Bharatanatyam, the pure *nṛtta* depends only on the metrical cycle (the *tāla*) and not even on the melodic line.

Manipuri or Meitei Jagoi music presents a fascinating picture of the distinctive genius of the Manipuri people which has been able to absorb influences of Hindustani music into an already flourishing local tradition. Although Rāga names are similar to Hindustani music such as *Basant*, *Todi*, *Pilu*, etc., the melodic patterns are totally different. For instance, the Rāga Todi of Manipuri is closer to Bilawal of Hindustani music. Also, in the *abhinaya* portions there is rarely a repetitive refrain: instead, the dancer presents naturally the sung poem sequentially without too much *Saṅcārī*.

The treatment of the musical sound and the methods of voice production make Manipuri singing unique with its emphasis on singing in the third octave, tremalo or *Kampan* (sometimes a higher or lower note is used to give a *gamaka* effect) and its complex metrical patterns.

The *Tāla* system of Manipur both in the *Saṅkīrtana* and the *Rāsas* is easily the most complex and intricate amongst the various *tāla* systems of India. There are at least 60 basic metrical patterns (*tālas*) and they range from a simple four beat pattern to others which follow a pattern of over 100 or 200 beats. The *Saṅkīrtana*

traditions provide scope for the dancer to improvise in the pure dance (*nr̥tta*) sections to these *tālas*. Symmetrical, asymmetrical patterns are common, but all are fluid and liquid specially in the *lāsya*. The range of the sound of the *puṅg* and its expressive potentialities contribute significantly to the execution of movement. The softer smaller sounds are conducive to the presentation of *lāsya* type of dancing with its circular figure of eight and curvilinear movements: the stronger larger sounds provide the essential background for the more vigorous open large movements of the man in the *tāṇḍava* portions.

The above is by no means a comprehensive or even fully illustrative account of the rich and varied repertoire of Manipuri dance. Our purpose here is only to point at the identity of approach in the musical styles of different parts of India. The character of the dance is determined by the musical and metrical content distinctive to the region. A more detailed technical study of the musical material of Manipur will undoubtedly make clear the integrated approach of the dance style where music plays an indispensable role.

Apart from the repertoire of the dances from Manipur proper there is the vast collection of operatic compositions known to neighbouring areas in East India. Of these, the *sattariya* dances of Assam and the various types of *āṅkiā naṭa* are the most significant. They present a rich and formalised tradition of music and dance of the region. The conception of *āṅkiā naṭa* in particular follows the strict dramatic tradition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*: the *sūtradhāra*, the *naṭa* and largely *naṭī* are important carry overs from the ancient Sanskrit dramatic tradition.

In the *ojāpali*, the play begins with the presentation of *rāga*. This is presented with all its elaboration both in *sāhitya* and *svara*. The dancer illustrates these through appropriate *hastābhinaya*. The *ojā*, the leader, serves the purpose of chorus, a musician, an interpreter and dancer all combined: the subordinate roles of *Dhama* and *Pali* (right and left) members of the dance group provide the necessary support to the main dancer who attempts to evoke a particular *bhāva*. As in the other dance styles of India, the *Daśāvatāra* and the *Gīta Govinda* are favourites. A line of poetry is sung by one singer and then is repeated by a row of singers in the background. The repetitive musical line once again provides scope for interpretation of the *daśāvatāras* of Viṣṇu. It is interesting to note that the dance is performed to two types of *sāhitya* here. There is the *pada* form, the poetic line and there is the prose order of the recitation type called the *katham*: it follows a method of recitation which is similar to the recitation method in Kathakali. There is a progressive development here from the *bāṇa* to the *updeśa* and the performance presents different stages of theme through a variety of musical compositions. The changes of mood are depicted through the song, music and rhythm, all of which the dancer interprets through gestures.

Orissi music has a distinctive character which is a happy blend of Hindustani and Karnatic schools of music. Like Manipuri it seems to have developed its own *rāga* and *tāla* system fairly early. Perhaps Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govinda* followed an already existing system or at least gave it a creative imprint which has been continued by later composers. Contemporary Orissi dance utilizes the musical compositions of Oriya poets and musicians. The treatment of the musical sound (*svara*) and treatment of voice production however is distinctive although reminiscent of both Hindustani and Karnatic *rāgas*. *Rāgas* like *Karnāṭa*, *Deshabharadī*, *Drāvida* (Drāvida), *Todiparajā* are characteristic, so also are *tālas* like *Aṭhatālī*, *Nihsarea*, *Sarimana*, *Jatī* and *Padi*. The structure of the *rāgas* is similar to the *pallavi anupallavi* and the *Carnam* of Karnatic music, although the treatment is unmistakably Oriya.

The musical compositions which guide the Orissi dancer, both in the *nṛtta* numbers and in the *abhinaya* numbers could also be analysed in detail to demonstrate the same principle. The patterns are reminiscent of Bharatanatyam. There are numbers like the *Bāṭu nṛtya* which are danced only to the rhythmical accompaniment of *mṛdaṅga*. There are others such as the *svara pallavi* in which *svara* passages are sung and *nṛtta* is performed; then there are the *aṣṭapadīs* of Jayadeva and innumerable lyrics of Oriya poets and composers which are sung and to which *abhinaya* is performed. The dance recital concludes with *Mokshya* again an abstract music composition and dance. As in Bharatanatyam, Kathakali and Manipuri a rich musico-poetic tradition provides the basis for interpretation through pose, gesture and movement.

Kathak¹ utilises a considerable body of compositions of Hindustani music which was exclusively created for the dance. *Taranā*, an abstract musical piece is utilised for the *nṛtta* portions of Kathak dance. The *ṭhumari*, the *dhammār*, the *bhajan*, the *ṭappā*, the *dadrā* are compositions that give immense scope for the dancer to present *sañcārī bhāva*. Some of the *ṭhumarīs* and *bhajans* were composed for particular dancers and here as in Bharatanatyam there is sometimes a note to note, a word to word and a phrase to phrase synchronisation between the musician and the dancer. In the *nṛtta* portions the dancer weaves permutations and combinations on a given metrical cycle. In the *abhinaya* portions the dancer illustrates the musical phrase and elaborates on it.

From the above survey, general and elementary as it is, the principles underlying the compositional aspects of Indian classical dance are clear. The Indian classical dance invariably is guided by the musical structure. The division of dance into *nṛtta* and *nṛtya* or *abhinaya* is conditioned by the nature of musical composition which has *sāhitya* and *svara*. The structure of the musical composition, whether it is a *varṇa* or a *pada* or a *gīta* or a *bhajan* or a *ṭhumari*, condition the *abhinaya* of the dancer. Improvisation, interpretations familiar to us as the aesthetic principle of *sañcārī bhāva* is used to the full in both the arts, singly and in combination.

Phrasing, elaborations, presentation of suitable shades of emotion is the essence; rigorous grammatical rules with a definite pattern guide both the singer and the dancer; at the finest moments neither the dancer remains a mere illustrator nor the musician a mere accompanist. The range of joint participation is staggering; it can restrict itself to the syllable synchronisation between the sung word and the movement or give each artist the freedom to interpret a single line passage verse or segment. Overlaying multiple simultaneous levelling of rhythmic patterns is the essence of the performance. The singer and the dancer are indeed then two limbs of the same human being, moving together or differently, symmetrically or asymmetrically only with the single purpose of expressing the same self, communicating the same state, and mood.

The musical structure in the abstract portions, whether it is the *jatisvara* or the *tillānā* or the *svara pallavi*, determines the nature of the dance pose and the dance movement in the *nṛtta* portions. The sculptural pose so characteristic of these dance styles is attained at a moment of perfect synchronisation of a particular note of the melodic line, the *sama* of the metrical cycle and finale of a definite dance sequence, whether it is the *ṭukrā* or *parana*, or the *tīramānam arasā* or *kalāsam*. It is on account of this self-imposed limitation of the metrical cycle, the melodic line and the dance movement that each cadence of dance remains a single entity and one cadence does not flow into the other. Some sequences in Manipuri are solitary exceptions to this rule. The concept of the *tīramānam arasā*, the *ṭukrā*, the *kalāsam* is the direct result of these basic concepts. Their origins can be traced back to Bharata's concepts of the *karaṇa*, the *aṅgahāra*, the *maṇḍala* etc.¹

What is left of the magnificent dramatic technique of Bharata is indeed fragmentary. Nonetheless from these fragments we can have some idea of the totality of a tradition which conceived of all the arts as interlinked and utilised the technique of one art in the other. The aesthetic experience provided by traditional Indian music and dance is perhaps the only survivor of the Indian aesthetic theory in practice. The theory was conceived initially in relation to Indian drama (inclusive of literature, dance and music), was extended to sculpture, painting, architecture: after two thousand years, while the tradition has been lost in practice to the more permanent arts such as sculpture, painting and literature, this continuity of tradition can be witnessed in the arts of music and dance. The word set to music, danced through sculptural poses which seeks to evoke a particular state of being provides to the performer and the spectator a heightened experience appropriately called *Brahmānand Sahodara*.

And yet all these forms of classical music and dance are but fragments of an integrated whole, comparable to detached pieces of beautiful sculpture from a magnificent temple. While the single pieces have an identity and a completeness, they belong to a mighty architectural edifice of the theatre arts, where each played a significant part in the total conception.

Through them one can visualize the temple of the theatre arts that was but that is NOT.

Note

1. It must be clarified that the music of Dance is a subject unto itself. There is no attempt here to present the evolution of this music in either its historical perspective or its technical structuring. The author's attempt is only to illustrate through select examples the fundamental unity of all dance styles in India and to draw attention to the nature of the relationship of music and dance. Besides, the subject has been dealt with, in the author's book, 'Indian Classical Dances' published by the Publication Division.

For the same reason, the author has with purpose avoided listing musical texts or critical works on music. The subject has been exhaustively and adequately covered by musicologists both Indian and foreign.

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